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THE LIBRARY.

A REVIEW (QUARTERLY).

EDITED BY

J. Y. W. MACALISTER and A. W. POLLARD, in collaboration with
KONRAD BURGER, LÉOPOLD DELISLE, and MELVIL DEWEY.

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THE LEGEND OF ARCHBISHOP UDO.

HE fantastic legend of Archbishop Udo of Magdeburg, of which a free version is offered in the following pages, first came to my notice in turning over the leaves of a copy of the 'Lauacrum Conscientiae' of Jacobus de Gruytrode, a Carthusian monk, who flourished about the middle of the fifteenth century. This book consists of a species of Whole Duty of Clerics, with stories illustrative of the awful consequences that await unworthy priests. The most elaborate of these stories, told in chapter xv., is that of Archbishop Udo. When the legend has been narrated, a few words shall be said as to its origin.

THE HORRIBLE AND APPALLING HISTORY OF A CERTAIN ARCHBISHOP OF MAGDEBURG CALLED UDO.

IN the year 900, when Otto III. was emperor, there happened in the city of Magdeburg in Saxony a terrifying and unheard of portent. The manner of its happening I will relate simply and truly, so

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that all may learn how hazardous and damnable it is to live an evil life in an exalted station, to diminish wrongfully the patrimony of Christ which is the well-being of the Church, to corrupt those of inferior degree by foul and scandalous behaviour, and to make nefarious attempts on the honour of the brides of God.

There was in the aforesaid city a certain scholar of the liberal arts named Udo, whose brain was so dull and heavy that, toil as he might over his books, he made no progress in them at all, and was thus frequently subjected to the stripes and chastisement of his master. One morning, after he had received a most intolerable beating, he betook himself straight from his school to the great minster of Magdeburg, built in honour of Saint Maurice and his holy company. There he cast himself on his knees before the altar with great fervour and many tears, and implored the aid of the gracious Queen of Heaven and of Saint Maurice that they would be pleased to lighten the darkness of his understanding. And as he knelt thus in deep devotion a sudden drowsiness overcame him, and in his slumber the Mother of Mercies appeared to him, and said: "My son, I have heard thy prayer and seen thine affliction. Behold, not only is the gift of learning and letters granted thee, but I commend moreover to thy faithful care the rule of this church of my champion Maurice when the present archbishop shall have died. And if thou rule it well, surely there awaits thee a great and rich reward. But if thou rule it ill, both thy soul and thy body shall be given to destruction." With

these words the blessed Virgin vanished ; and the youth, starting up from his sleep, gave thanks and returned straightway back to school. And when he opened his mouth to speak, his reasonings proceeded so subtly that he refuted and silenced all his opponents in the disputation, and showed himself in every subject an accomplished scholar, so that his former acquaintance who heard him were amazed, and said : " Whence has this youth received all his knowledge and lore of a sudden ? Is not this the same Udo who but yesterday was used like an ox under the lash and to-day he is as learned as Albertus himself ? "

Two years after these happenings the Archbishop of Magdeburg died, and Udo, such was his renown for learning, was elected unanimously to fill his place. Now for a short while after he had first assumed the archiepiscopal robes he lived fairly and honestly ; but, as the saying goes, ' Honours change the heart.' In course of time he grew unmindful of the counsel which the Queen of Heaven had given him and of his own salvation, and began to seek only to gratify his own pleasures, dissipating the treasures of his cathedral and going about to seduce not only fair women of the laity, but even such as had taken the veil of Christ. Finally, he put away from him utterly all fear of God, and gave free rein to all his profane and wicked lusts, until his life became a horror and an abomination—alas, that this must be said of an archbishop!—and for many years the very air of Magdeburg, as it seemed, was polluted by the enormities of this detestable wretch.

Now on a certain night, when Udo was in the company of the abbess of Black Nuns at Lilienfeld whom he had debauched, on a sudden he heard a voice proclaiming in dreadful tones :

‘ Udo, give o’er your play,
You’ve played enough this many a day ! ’

But the awful admonition abashed him not at all, and he put away from him the divine warning, laughing it off as a trick that some sly rogue was playing off on him, and returning next day to his usual dissipations and delights. On the next night, as he was taking his disport in the same way, he heard the same voice again uttering the angry words ; but again the wretched ingrate contemned its salutary counsel and hardened his heart to stone, though God was already palpably withdrawing his hand from him. On the third night, which he was once more spending by the abbess’s side, in the midst of caresses and embraces, the aforesaid voice began once more in thunderous tones to exclaim :

‘ Udo, give o’er your play,
You’ve played enough this many a day ! ’

At this repeated warning Udo at length fell into great consternation, and was fain to groan with remorse as he thought of his flagitious life ; yet he could not so far prevail on himself as to return to his senses and repent, but on the very brink of damnation repeated the old croak of *cras, cras*, which has undone so many sinners.

From Udo’s final end which now follows, all men may learn that God, by how much he finds his infinite grace and clemency set at naught, by

so much will his vengeance be more terrific. It is a strange story, but true for all that; and if the folk of Saxony, among whom it happened, could be silent concerning it, yet the stones themselves (as the sequel will show) would cry it out aloud. Three months after Udo had heard the divine warning, a certain canon of the aforementioned cathedral of Magdeburg, named Frederick, a good and saintly man, was passing the night in the choir of Saint Maurice, praying fervently for holy Church universal, and in special for his own church of Magdeburg, that the righteous Creator of all things would either cut off its diseased head altogether (meaning thereby Archbishop Udo), or else would bring him back to a better life. The prayers of a saintly man are of quick effect; for the canon immediately, being rapt in spirit, beheld a vision exceeding awful and terrible to all men, but particularly so to all prelates and rulers of the Church who neglect the flock committed by heaven to their care, and by their evil example do only too often drive them along the high road to everlasting destruction. Now the aforesaid holy man looked, and behold a violent and sudden wind blew out at once all the lights in the cathedral, and he himself, seized with overmastering terror, remained as if rooted to the floor, unable to cry out or move. Then behold there came two youths carrying candles in their hands, who passed on to the altar and took their places one on each side of it; after these came two others, one of whom spread cloths decently before the altar, while the other set two golden chairs thereon. After these there strode in

one in the harness of a warlike champion, a drawn sword flashing in his hand, who stood in the midst of the cathedral, and cried with a loud voice: 'O ye saints, as many as are here honoured in your holy relics, I charge you, arise and come to the judgment of God.' At these words the canon beheld a great shining multitude, both men and women, some in warrior's mail, others robed and mitred, who passed up the choir and ranged themselves on either side of it in order of their age and distinction. After these came twelve venerable men in shining raiment, in the midst of whom walked one brighter than the sun, adorned with the royal diadem and sceptre; these were the twelve apostles, and with them Christ himself, lord and creator of all heaven and earth. And when they saw him the whole company of saints fell down and adored him with deep devotion, and afterwards made him to sit down upon one of the golden chairs. Lastly entered the Queen of Heaven herself, clearer than the moon and stars, and a glorious company of virgins followed after her. And she was received by all the saintly throng on bended knees with great honour and reverence, and the King of Kings arose to meet her, and taking her by the hand seated her by his side upon the chair of state. Thereupon, lo, there appeared the holy prince and martyr Maurice himself, with his warlike legion to the number of six thousand six hundred and sixty-six; and all these with one accord bowed themselves before the Judge and his Queen Mother and worshipped him, saying: 'O Judge most just, and upholder of the world

from age to age, give judgment upon Archbishop Udo!' after which they arose and stood reverently awaiting his answer. And he said: 'Your request is granted. Let the Archbishop be brought hither.' Immediately one went and dragged the wretched man from the abbess's side, and brought him fast bound into the presence. And Saint Maurice, looking sternly upon him, said: 'Lord God, give judgment, I pray thee: behold, here is this Udo, not a bishop, but a wolf; not a shepherd, but a spoiler; not a cherisher, but a defiler and a devourer of thy flock. He it is to whom thy most holy Mother gave wisdom and the charge of this church dedicated in my honour and that of my companions, telling him that if he ruled it well he would receive eternal life, if ill, death of body and soul. This is the wretch who, though warned once, twice, and three times, refused to mend his ways, and not only brought shame and dishonour on thy holy Church and himself, but even outraged thy brides dedicated to thee by the veil.' When Saint Maurice had thus spoken, our Lord turned and looked round upon the company of saints, saying: 'What is your judgment with regard to this Udo?' Whereupon the champion pronounced in a loud voice: 'His doom be death.' And the great Judge said: 'Let his head be struck off—so headless has been his life, wallowing in wickedness and filthy conversation.' Then the champion advanced to Udo, and bade him stretch forth his neck: which Udo doing, and as the other lifted his sword to strike, Saint Maurice spoke forth and said: 'Hold thy hand awhile; first let the

relics that he carries be taken from him.' Then one placed a chalice before the wretched Udo, and the champion brought down his fist on the Archbishop's neck, smiting him many times, and at each blow a polluted wafer leapt from Udo's mouth and dropped into the chalice, which the Queen of Heaven took reverently, and after washing them carefully placed them on the altar, whereupon she and her company retired with a fair obeisance. Then at last the champion, lifting his sword once more, struck off Udo's head at a single blow, and immediately the whole saintly company vanished.

The aforementioned canon, who had seen all this, not by vision in his sleep, but awake and open-eyed, lay a long time in the darkness all dazed and trembling; but at length seeing a light still burning in the crypt, he took courage to rekindle the lamps in the church, and at last by a great effort, to put an end to his doubts and fears, advanced slowly to the place of judgment, where he saw the chalice full of wafers on the altar, and the palpable head of the wretched Archbishop lying at some distance from the trunk in a pool of blood. Then with many sad exclamations and reflections on the rigour of God's judgment, he closed all the doors of the cathedral and suffered no one to enter till the sun had risen, when he called together all the people, both cleric and lay, and having given an orderly account of all that he had heard and seen, exhibited to them the signs of divine vengeance, the weltering corpse of the miserable Archbishop.

On the same day as these things took place, one of the chaplains of this same Udo, named Bruno, who had been engaged in the neighbourhood on some of his master's crooked business, chanced to be returning with his retinue to Magdeburg. And as he was approaching the city alone, his servants having somewhat out-distanced him, the will of God caused a deep drowsiness to come over him, so that seeing a shady tree not far off he dismounted there, and tying his horse's bridle firmly to his arm was fain to lie down to sleep. And behold a vast rout of unclean spirits approached the place where he was sleeping, blowing horns and beating drums, shouting and waving swords and cudgels; and when they had all gathered round, one of their number, who seemed by his tall stature and the dark pride of his countenance to be their leader, took his seat upon a throne which they set for him in the midst. And presently another vast rabble, yelling, chuckling, and leaping for joy, was seen coming from the city with the speed of the wind, and the fiends that were foremost shouted with all their might: 'Room, room; here is a dear friend of ours come to visit us.' Amid these clamours the satellites of Satan dragged forward the miserable Udo in his bodily figure by a fiery chain fastened about his neck, and stood him before their chief; whereupon Satan rose up and saluted him, addressing him with mocking words of friendship: 'Welcome, my lord,' said he, 'at all times the faithful upholder and extender of our dominion; you behold me all eagerness to give you and my other loyal friends

the reward you have so richly deserved.' And as the wretched Udo, bound and chained, spoke no word, Satan said to his infernal companions: 'The journey hither has wearied my good lord; see to it that he have some refreshment.' Immediately a number of imps seized hold of him, and in spite of his struggles and agonised efforts to turn away his head, crammed toads and adders forcibly down his throat, and washed down the horrid morsels with draughts of boiling sulphur. Thereupon, as Udo was still silent, Satan continued: 'Let my lord be taken to the bath reserved for such great princes as he; and after an hour let him be brought back with all due observance.' And behold not far away was a well covered over with a lid, and when the lid was taken off immediately a blaze of fire leapt up from it to the very clouds, searing and consuming all trees, shrubs and herbage for a great space around. Into this well the demons plunged the soul of the luckless Udo, and after an hour's time they drew him forth again as he came to the surface, and stood him before their chief all white-hot through and through. And Satan, chuckling horribly, said to him: 'Well, my lord, was the bath refreshing?'

Then the unhappy Udo, perceiving himself to be damned beyond redemption, began to blaspheme and cry: 'Cursed be thou, Satan, and all thy crew, and all thy promptings, and all thy dominion; cursed be God who made me and the earth that nourished me, and the parents that engendered me: cursed be all creation in heaven and upon earth!' Thereupon the whole hellish rout began to clap

their hands in glee and say to each other: 'Truly this man is worthy of remaining amongst us for evermore, since already he can repeat our creed so fluently; let him be sent below to our great college of instruction, that he may see, hear, and feel, and become more perfect in his lesson, and may continue to progress therein to all eternity.' Hardly had they said these words when they hurled themselves on that devoted wretch and shot him down into the depths of the hellish gulf of everlasting torment with so sudden and mad a rush that it seemed as if the sky and the ground and all the hills were rocking to their fall. The sleeping chaplain was almost dead with the horror of all these awful sights and sounds, when the Prince of Darkness pointed his finger at him and said to his ministering devils: 'Look to it that this priest who is watching us escape us not, for he has always been the trusty aid and abettor of that other in all his crimes, and as he shared his guilt so shall he share his punishment. Take him and thrust him into the pit after his master.' At these words all the crew made as if to rush upon the chaplain, and as he turned to fly he awoke in the midst of his terror to find that his startled horse was galloping off across country and dragging him along by the arm to which he had tied the reins.¹ At last, when his arm was nearly torn from his body,

¹ In the version which the 'Magdeburger Schöppenchronik' gives of this incident, Satan, as the chaplain turns to fly, calls out: 'Throw the pilgrim's rug in his way.' The chaplain falls over the rug and breaks his nose and teeth. He had stolen the rug from a dying pilgrim, to give to his groom.

he succeeded in stopping the horse, and mounting with difficulty upon him rode into Magdeburg in an agony of pain. There he heard of his master's death at the very hour of his dream, and related all his prodigious experience to the people as well as he could for the pain and terror that shook him, showing his arm battered and mangled, and his hair grown suddenly grey, in warrant of his good faith. And when the citizens of Magdeburg had seen and heard this unexampled judgment of God they were greatly afraid, and took up Udo's vile corpse to cast it into a bog at a great distance from their city. There it was immediately received with shouts of glee by a rout of infernal monsters, who not only tore it up into little pieces with their unclean talons, but vexed the country people who dwelt round about with a thousand malicious tricks and injuries. At last these took counsel together, and drawing forth the accursed carrion from the bog, burnt it, and strewed the ashes into the river Elbe, whereupon, marvellous to relate, all the fish in the river turned with the stream and went down into the sea. Not till ten years after, when the divine wrath had been appeased with prayer, chant, and fasting, did they return to their former haunts.

A lasting memorial of these horrible happenings is left by a dark stain of Udo's blood spilt at his execution, which dyes the polished pavement of white marble in the cathedral, and adheres so indelibly to it that it seems to be part of the marble itself. On this spot, the very spot of God's judgment, carpets are kept continually spread; and only when, according to the use of the church, the

Te Deum is chanted over each new archbishop at his investiture are they removed; and the archbishop kneels there to pray and see and remember, and order his ways better than did Udo of yore. And indeed his story is an awful sign and warning of the divine retribution, not only to the archbishops of Magdeburg, but also to the prelates and laity of Holy Church throughout the world.

So ends the legend; and probably no reader of it will be greatly surprised to learn that it is devoid of any historical basis,¹ inasmuch as there never was an archbishop of Magdeburg named Udo, and the date 900 (in other editions 950) given at the beginning of the text is inconsistent with the statement immediately following that the occurrence took place during the reign of the emperor Otto III. (996-1001). It is, as a matter of fact, a compilation of two several legends told of different archbishops, together with elements from a miracle of the Blessed Virgin which occurs in several places and forms elsewhere.

(1.) The vision seen by Canon Frederick in the choir of Magdeburg Cathedral corresponds to an account in the 'Magdeburger Schöppenchronik' (which in turn rests upon the 'Gesta archiepiscopum Magdeburgensium') of how a priest saw in

¹ The facts here set down with regard to its origin and development are taken from the exhaustive monograph of Professor A. E. Schönbach, 'Studien zur Erzählungsliteratur des Mittelalters. II. Die Legende von Erzbischof Udo von Magdeburg,' published in the 'Sitzungsberichte der philologisch-historischen Klasse der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften,' Bd. 144. Wien, 1902.

a trance Archbishop Hartwig brought before a heavenly tribunal on the charge of dissipating the treasures of his church, spoiled of his robes, and expelled from the sacred building. This Archbishop Hartwig, who was related to the family of the counts of Spanheim, was elected to the see of Magdeburg in 1079; his relations with the Marchioness Beatrix of Schweinfurt, which caused considerable scandal at the time, and his sudden death after a banquet given in the lady's honour, no doubt strongly influenced this part of the Udo legend.

(2.) The dream dreamt by Udo's chaplain Bruno under a tree corresponds to the story immediately following that already mentioned in the 'Schöppenchronik,' where, however, the unhappy victim is Archbishop Albrecht of Mainz; a vicarius in his sleep sees the archbishop's soul brought before Satan, greeted with sarcastic cordiality, and forced to drink a draught of liquid fire, the flame of which bursts forth from his nose and ears. The vicarius, menaced by Satan, turns to fly, but falls, and wakes up to find himself lying on the floor with his face cut. The archbishop here alluded to is Adelbert (or Albrecht) I., count of Saarbrücken, who became archbishop of Mainz in August, 1111, and died in June, 1137. Though popular among his own subjects, his support of the Papal claims against the emperor Henry V., to whom he owed his rise, was bitterly resented in Germany as a piece of black ingratitude. He was besides commonly accused of excessive greed. The 'Schöppenchronik' has taken this story from the 'Sächsische Weltchronik,' composed *ca.* 1230-50.

The two legends are again found in consecutive order in the '*Bonum uniuersale de apibus*' of Thomas Cantipratensis (*flor.* 1250), but with the archiepiscopal names suppressed. The first vision is seen by 'Conradus, Deo dignus Hildeshemensis episcopus'; in the second the victim is merely 'quidam archiepiscopus Theutonie.'

How and when the two stories were concentrated upon the legendary Udo, and developed into their more elaborate form is obscure; in Professor Schönbach's opinion the final redaction of the Udo legend is to be assigned to the fourth decade of the thirteenth century. We find the story alluded to in the '*Homilies*' of Caesarius of Heisterbach (who died about 1240), and the delightful leonine hexameter,

'Fac finem ludo, iam lusisti satis, Udo,'

in which the supernatural warning is conveyed to the reprobate archbishop, is quoted, almost as a proverb, by the famous preacher Berthold of Regensburg in a sermon composed about the year 1260. The story in its present form must have been extremely popular. It is found incorporated not only in the '*Lauacrum Conscientiae*,' but also in the '*Speculum Exemplorum*,' a widely read handbook for preachers, compiled in the last half of the fifteenth century (*dist. ix.*, No. clxxv.); it is appended to an edition printed about 1473 by the 'Printer of Augustinus de Fide' of Pope Innocent III.'s '*de miseria humanae conditionis*,' and to the '*Speculum artis bene moriendi*' of Domenico Capranica, printed by Metlinger at Besançon in

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1488, and it was printed as a separate tract by Martin Flach at Basel about 1475. It is from this edition that the present version has been made.

Finally, a poem of some eight hundred lines, written in the Bavarian dialect, and consisting of an awkward versification of the Latin legend, was discovered in a Munich codex and published by Karl Helm in 1897 ('Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher,' vii.).

A white stone slab in front of the high altar of Magdeburg Cathedral is still known as 'der Udo'sche Stein.'

VICTOR SCHOLDERER.

A MUNICIPAL LIBRARY AND ITS PUBLIC.

IV.—THE REFERENCE LIBRARY.

IN my last article dealing with Lending Libraries and Branches, I referred to the premature and illstarred effort to establish a Reference Library with inadequate funds and before the public mind was properly in tune for this, the highest, form of public library service. With intense dissatisfaction on all sides at the totally inadequate nature of the lending library, it was unwise to impoverish the small book fund available by purchasing books for which there could only be a limited and somewhat remote use. The public had not yet reached the stage of looking to the library as a great storehouse of knowledge and information upon every conceivable subject, with something upon nearly everything, much about some things, and in essentials provided with the most recent publications. Even the current edition of the local directory was not included in the reference library of those days.

With the improvement of the lending library, however, things took a turn, and people began to look to the library as a source of information. The main idea of the reference library was, nevertheless, of very slow growth, and for a long time people resented having to consult books in the building,

and in that way only. This feeling still exists to some extent, though it is quietly wearing off. The introduction of the telephone system of answering inquiries is doing much to break down this resentment. Such an attitude of mind, however unreasonable, is not altogether unnatural in a busy commercial community. Each person thinks of his own wants and convenience, and pays no attention to those of his neighbour. Time is limited, things have to be done in a hurry, why can't a man have the Clergy List, or the Oxford English Dictionary to consult in his office? It does not occur to him that a dozen others may require either of those books while out on loan to him, still less does he realise that if they were lent out, they probably would not be immediately available to answer his urgent need when it arises.

A public reference library has also to contend with the small but difficult class of reader who thinks that the business of the library is to supply a snug, well-furnished room for his special benefit, where he may pursue his dilettante studies undisturbed by the presence of other readers, except perhaps a select few, like-minded with himself, with whom he may while away the time in gossip when he feels disposed. It was readers such as these who led to the arrangement of our old reference room with bookcases forming a series of alcoves, and in each alcove a table for a solitary reader. Here the few who used the place in those days pitched their tents, and if a luckless assistant, or even the librarian, had occasion to go to one of these retreats to get a book or series of books, and

still more if, as very frequently happened, the inhabitant had to be disturbed from his seat to get what was wanted, black looks and mutterings, and even open railing, were the portion of the officials. Nor was this the worst. Mutilations were frequent, and easily accomplished. Readers came to look upon these sanctums as peculiarly their own. Meals were partaken of, and the floor bestrewed with crumbs, which attracted mice from the adjoining churchyard. However necessary it might be for cross ventilation to open the window above the sanctum, the reader objected. Sometimes wives and even sweethearts were introduced to share the retreat, and suppressed conversation with occasional laughter was indulged in. One reader took daily possession, and removing his boots, perched himself with his feet on the table and his chair tilted back. Occasionally he came to grief, to the annoyance of other readers, but he calmly resumed, and defied us to show him any rule forbidding the removal of boots in the library. For ten years the iron of this ill-designed room entered into my soul. Then an extension of the buildings swept it out of existence as a reference library, and therewith most, though not all, of the difficulties connected with it.

A librarian comes up against a lot of queer human nature, and difficult though it may be at times, the only way is to look at the humorous side, and to go on quietly but firmly resisting. I have found that as the library grows the difficulties decrease, a silent testimony to the civilising influence of books.

Almost the first sign of interest manifested by the public in our infant reference library of twenty-three years ago, was a deputation asking that some Welsh books should be purchased. Three gentlemen, all ardent Welshmen, with that intense love of their country and its literature so characteristic of the race, had been deputed by the local Welsh Society, the Cymmrodorion, then recently established, to bring before the Libraries Committee the desirability of adding to the library some books for Welsh readers. There was not at that time in the library a single book representative of the literature of the Welsh people. Looking back this seems almost incredible. There were a few volumes of local topography,—at most a couple of shelves would have held them all,—but so far as I can recall, not a single volume in the Welsh language. The demands of the deputation were modest to a degree. A dozen books, or at most a score, was the extent of it. Yet from that meeting the idea of a Welsh department took shape. The Libraries Committee readily assented to the proposal, and at the same time formulated a scheme which ultimately developed into an attempt to collect a complete Welsh library. It is not yet complete; perhaps it never will be, for many of the earlier books have either entirely disappeared, or exist in limited numbers in collections not likely to be dispersed. Still we have done fairly well. All current publications relating to Wales and the Borders, and less fully the publications in other Celtic languages, are added as they appear, while the older books are steadily acquired as opportunities occur of securing

them. The number of printed volumes, including pamphlets, in our Welsh department exceeds 45,000. At this moment it is the largest in existence, though its supremacy will be challenged by the National Library of Wales, to be established at Aberystwyth shortly, and to which a number of large and valuable collections have already been promised.

Welsh bibliography is still a chaos. Until we took the subject in hand there was no opportunity of studying it. In the British Museum Welsh books are not catalogued or shelved separately, and owing to the conditions prevailing, the Museum in the past has been unable to obtain more than a small proportion of the books. Welsh publishing and bookselling is a thing apart. In every town, almost, one might say, in every village in Wales, there has been, at some time or another, a printer or publisher of Welsh books. In a large number of instances the author and publisher are one; the printer simply prints the book and delivers the sheets. The author gets them bound, and sells them to his friends, and to such others as may chance to hear of them through a review in a Welsh paper or magazine. Ministers used to go on a preaching and lecturing tour through the Principality to advertise and sell a book. Editions running into thousands were disposed of in this way by popular ministers. Even now Welsh books rarely appear in the English Catalogue, are very seldom registered at Stationers' Hall, and until recently many of them were never heard of by the British Museum, and the other copyright libraries.

About eight years ago Professor Heinrich Zimmer,

who is an ardent Celtic scholar, suggested to me that some effort should be made to record all the publications of the Welsh press. I put the matter before my Committee, and it was agreed to try what could be done. From this arose the 'Bibliography of Wales,' which we now issue half-yearly; for the last eight years this covers the ground fairly well. Rowlands' 'Cambrian Bibliography' up to the year 1800 is sadly incomplete and inaccurate, though having regard to the difficulties under which it was prepared it is a credit to its compiler, and to the late Chancellor Silvan Evans who edited it. The late Charles Ashton was engaged upon a bibliography for the nineteenth century in continuation of Rowlands', and left a large store of material; part of it has been printed, but not published. A co-ordinated effort to cover the whole field, under the direction of a trained bibliographer, is much wanted. The institution of the national library may lead to something in this direction.

The price of Welsh books has risen considerably of late. Cardiff had the good luck to be early in the field, and was able to secure for quite small sums books now very difficult to meet with. We have purchased several collections out and out. The first of these was the library of the Rees family of the Tonn, Llandovery, purchased in 1889. Later we acquired the complete library of Mr. David Lewis Wooding, who kept a country store at Beulah, a remote hamlet amongst the Breconshire hills, where he quietly accumulated a tolerable fortune, and indulged a considerable passion for

book collecting. Then we had a good friend in the late Mr. William Scott, a commercial traveller, who ranged over the whole of Wales. In his travels he set himself to secure for our library any Welsh book not already there, and brought together over 2,000 books, besides some manuscripts. Once he had embarked on his scheme he pursued it with ardour, and he had a winning way, productive of many valuable finds. His premature death was a great loss, for he was one of the most valuable helpers we have had.

In the development of this side of the library the Committee and the public have shown considerable pride, and when, in 1895, it became known that the Welsh portion of the Phillipps manuscripts were for sale, it was resolved to make a strenuous effort to secure it for Cardiff. The amount required, about £3,650 in all, was quite beyond the reach of our ordinary funds. An offer of a thousand pounds from the late Marquess of Bute, and of five hundred pounds from Mr. John Cory, of Dyffryn, with substantial sums from the Earl of Plymouth (then Lord Windsor), Viscount Tredegar, the Mackintosh of Mackintosh, and other friends, brought the prize within our reach, and we were able to complete the purchase.

This placed the library in the possession of many manuscripts of more than local importance. The extension of our buildings, including the provision of a fine reference room, with large book storage space, was completed about the same time, and the two things put a new aspect on our affairs. We had risen above the position of a municipal library,

ministering to the wants of local readers. From all parts of Wales, and from other Celtic centres, readers were attracted.

It may be well at this point to say something about finances. The Libraries Acts were adopted in 1862 with only one dissentient, a gentleman who in after years became one of the most active members of the Libraries Committee, and though his conversion was slow, yet it was sure, for as he grasped the good work we were doing he became a loyal supporter, and took great pride in the success of the libraries. The adoption of the Acts was the action of the ratepayers, the Town Council of those days, and for many years after, being indifferent, and to some extent hostile. The annual fund for the up-keep was doled out in a grudging manner. If the penny rate yielded £435 the Council voted £400 for that year, thus clipping off the book fund a sum that was vital. For the first fifteen years the amount available for books never rose above £80 in any year, and it was often far below that sum; in some years there was nothing spent on books. This was partly due to the supporters of the library. They aimed at a three-fold institution,—library, schools of science and art, and museum,—all supported out of the meagre income produced by the penny rate. It was a difficult time. Side by side the three departments struggled on: the library lacked books; the staff in the science and art schools were most inadequately remunerated for giving instruction which enabled a large number of young men and young women to obtain good positions in life; while the museum collections accumulated with no

one to arrange them for exhibition to the public. Of the three the library was worst off. The museum was looked after by a small band of scientific men, and its local geological collection was very good. The science and art schools were kept going by the help of the grants from the Science and Art Department. The library failed to attract any of those gifts which some towns have received from patriotic citizens. Fifteen years after the adoption of the Acts the Town Council was, in 1877, forced into paying the full product of a penny rate, less than £700. From that time matters improved slowly. In 1884 the rate had grown to £1,100, but in the meantime a new building had been erected for the three institutions, and £422 per annum went in loan charges for the building. The rateable value of the town improved rapidly after 1884; the demands on the three institutions grew in even greater ratio, and it was not until the passing of the Technical Instruction Act of 1889 that any real relief came, and two or three years later the passing of the Museums Act enabled the cost of that department to be taken off the library fund. A period of rapid development followed. The raising of the rate by a local act to three halfpence in the pound was referred to in my third article. The rate now produces £6,900, but of this sum £1,750 is absorbed by loan charges on the buildings of the central library and three of the branches; and but for the timely gift by Mr. Carnegie of £10,000 for two further branch buildings, our finances would still be utterly inadequate. As it is, we are in straitened circumstances. The book fund for all

the libraries does not exceed £700 a year: it ought to be at least double that sum, and we have arrears of bookbinding to a serious extent. The library service, too, demands attention. The amount available for salaries is insufficient to enable us to give the public the assistance of a trained staff equal to the importance of the work we are doing. The payment of more adequate salaries to the assistants will become urgent in the near future. Instead of training assistants who, when they are becoming really useful, have to seek better-paid positions in other libraries, we shall be compelled in the public interest to pay such salaries as will retain the services of a larger number of trained assistants for the benefit of our own readers. In no other departments of our public service are the staffs so badly paid as in the libraries.

This digression on finance is necessary in order to show that successful as we have been in many respects, yet we have had difficulties to contend with in the past, and that our troubles are by no means over. If our buildings were clear of debt we could do very well on the three-halfpenny rate, but the annual deduction of £1750 for loan charges cripples us. This is a point of more than local interest. A bill has been before Parliament for two or three sessions which seeks to remove the restriction placed upon local authorities with regard to libraries. It is strongly supported by the leading cities and towns throughout the kingdom, but has failed so far owing to the opposition of a small minority. I have said that we could go on quite well on a three-halfpenny rate if we had no loan

charges. Less than a twopenny rate would meet the loan charges, and leave us with an adequate income. There may be a few towns where a twopenny rate would barely suffice to meet all library charges, but in most cases it would be ample, and it is not at all likely that local authorities would break out into extravagance if the limit were removed.

Until some measure of relief is given by a general act, a large number of libraries in this country must continue to fail in giving their readers the full advantages which a slight increase of income would enable them to give, and the library services must remain a sweated industry.

The gifts made by Mr. Carnegie for library buildings have been the means of extending the library system to a large number of small towns and urban districts, which without his assistance would have been quite unable to provide buildings and maintenance for them. It is a significant fact that the outstanding amount of the loans for library buildings as given in the annual government return shows no great increase since Mr. Carnegie came to the help of British libraries. But many of the older libraries, in the more enterprising places, still groan under a load of debt incurred before his benefactions commenced. The total of the outstanding loans is just over a million sterling. If only that load were removed the library system of the country would respond to the demands made upon it in a way which would surprise many people. Glasgow, with its fine series of libraries, shows what can be done when the income has not to be mortgaged to provide buildings.

Looking back upon the financial difficulties we have had to face it is surprising how much has been done in the way of collecting a reference library. One point is of special importance. In the days of adversity the library attracted very few gifts, and those small. As things improved, and the service to the public increased, valuable gifts flowed in to enrich the collections. One of the earliest was the greater part of the scientific library of the late Professor Kitchen Parker, F.R.S., purchased and presented by Mr. Herbert Metford Thompson. This gift struck a new note. It made the reference library rich in one field, emphasising its bareness in other directions. Strenuous efforts were made to bring other subjects up to the same level, and to maintain the standard of the scientific section. To acquire the indispensable books for a reference library was the chief aim at first, and gradually to specialize in the subjects most required for the district. A good rule adopted about this time was to acquire each year at least one costly book or set of books of permanent value, and likely to be used. Pursuing this plan the Committee have purchased valuable works for nearly every department. The great monograph on conchology, for example, by Mr. Lovell Reeve, thirty-five volumes, for which £90 was paid; the Gould monographs on birds (some of which we still require); the great books on art and artists, like the valuable illustrated work on the Wallace Collection; sets of transactions of societies, in which we were sadly deficient, a deficiency still existing in a lesser degree, and many

other costly books such as form the backbone of a good reference library, have been acquired by a steady adherence to this policy.

In the early days of my librarianship it was extremely difficult to get a book costing over a pound passed by the Committee. The minds of the members had not grasped the idea of a great town library—we were still in the stage when the idea was to dole out reading as a semi-charity to the poor. All that is changed. The question when a costly purchase is contemplated is, not “What do we want it for?” but “Can we manage it?” The changed attitude is an eloquent testimony to the importance of possessing valuable and rare books which give distinction—an atmosphere. In course of time such an environment becomes reflected in the Committee, the staff, and the public. It lifts the mind to a higher level, and the Committee, the officers, and the public view the library from a higher plane for the presence of such things.

We have numerous instances of this. Over and over again of late years gifts of rare, unique, and valuable books, manuscripts, prints, drawings, maps, and other things have been made, because it is known that they will be taken care of, and be available for the pleasure and profit of the public. A few instances only can be cited. In 1842 Wordsworth wrote a sonnet, ‘When Severn’s sweeping flood had overflown,’ on the destruction of an old Cardiff church by a great flood in 1607. The autograph manuscript of this poem was offered to Viscount Tredegar, best of neighbours and a

never-failing friend to the library, who promptly bought it and sent it to us as a gift. A collection of rare and beautiful early printed books, with at least one example from the earliest press of nearly every important continental town, was offered for sale. The library had no funds, so I mentioned the matter to Mr. John Cory, another reliable friend, and he at once sent a cheque to pay for it.

From all parts of Wales we are constantly receiving gifts of recent publications and of rare books from people who have tested the library, and from others who know our work by repute only. Such gifts are often of small monetary value, but they put us in possession of many things difficult to procure, and in the aggregate of great importance. We also receive constantly gifts of books from Welshmen in America. Since the seventeenth century there has been considerable emigration from Wales to America, and many settlers took their books with them. These have to some extent found their way back to us; while we also receive evidences of the literary activity of the Welsh in America at the present day. Men I have never seen, and know only by their letters and their gifts, continually remind me of the enthusiasm of the Welsh for their native land.

But I must resist the temptation to go on writing about the collections, and say something of the use made of them by the public. In the first place we resist attempts to use the reference library as a place for idlers, or as a place of recreation. Difficult though it is at times to discriminate, yet it

can be done. The appearance of the room discourages those who are not in earnest. There are no retreats in the main room, while there is such an air of study that the idler instinctively feels himself out of place. An inquiry desk, with a well qualified assistant always on duty to help readers, checks abuses. The average attendance is between two and three hundred readers daily, a number largely increased by students of the University College during term time. The high schools, the technical schools, and other educational institutions supply a constant stream of students. The professional and commercial classes not only from Cardiff, but from a wide area round, keep us regularly employed. It may be a lawyer looking up the points of a case bristling with terminological or technical difficulties, or an expert from a great works in search of a solution to some scientific problem arising in the works, or seeking a description of some new process or piece of machinery. Then we always have a certain number of readers engaged in transcribing manuscripts, and looking up references and authorities for some literary work. These last are drawn from far and near. Studious men from all over Wales spend some portion of their holidays every year in Cardiff to enable them to look up points in the reference library. Others engaged upon literary work break the ground with us, and go on to the British Museum to complete their labours.

No restriction is placed on the admission of readers to the reference library. A ticket, filled up at the time for each book required, is the only credential

demand. Manuscripts and other works of exceptional value are, however, not lent without reference to a senior officer, and in most cases the applicant is given a table in an inner room and every precaution is taken to prevent and detect damage. So far we have been singularly free from abuses; I cannot recall any instance of a manuscript being injured.

The value of the reference library to the public, and the important, though silent part it fills in the everyday life of the district, was demonstrated a couple of years ago when it had to be closed for a month for some repairs. Every day brought urgent requests for access to it in connection with some matter of importance, and so persistently did these requests come day after day that we had to arrange a system whereby they could be met while the reference library remained closed. The absence of any other reference library of any importance, not only in Cardiff, but anywhere near, accentuates the value no doubt; at the same time this is an eloquent tribute to the position municipal libraries have attained as factors in the life of the community.

In a fifth and concluding article I hope to say something on the museum side of the library, the collection and exhibition of examples of fine printing, bookbinding, portraits, topographical prints, drawings and photographs, and also on the loan of books and prints for teaching purposes, lectures in the branch libraries, the publication of catalogues and handlists for special subjects, and other activities.

JOHN BALLINGER.

RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

N 'Mémoires d'une vieille Fille,' René Bazin gives a fresh setting to his stories from the lives of the poor. He imagines an old maid by vocation, a very different person, he is careful to impress on us, from 'une jeune fille non mariée,' who devotes her life to the poor. The most interesting part of the book is the opening chapter, 'La Vocation d'une vieille Fille.' The origin of the species is thus set forth :

'Nous avons une très longue histoire, et très noble, qu'il faut continuer, c'est l'histoire des familles de France. Elles ont été, en notable partie, l'œuvre des vieilles filles, dont la France d'autrefois était plus abondamment pourvue. Quelle est celle qui n'avait pas sa tante Gothon, sa tante Marion, sa tante Ursule? Personne n'héritait en bloc de ces femmes habituellement pauvres ou appauvries; mais il y a l'héritage quotidien, celui que distribuent nos actions. Tante Gothon filait, tante Marion berçait, tante Ursule enseignait à lire. Les mères, très fécondes, trouvaient de l'aide qui ne coûtait rien, pour élever les petits. Il y avait quatre, six, huit bras pour endormir, plusieurs voix pour chanter, un seul cœur pour instruire. Les tantes se répandaient toujours un peu hors de la maison, et c'est ce qu'il faut faire. Que j'aurais voulu les connaître. Elles devaient avoir tant de recettes et de maximes concernant leur état.'

IX.

B B

The old maid who has almost ceased to exist in English life, and therefore in English fiction, seems just now to be somewhat in the ascendant in French novels. In 'Ce qu'il Fallait Savoir' Ernest Tissot relates the struggles with fortune of four sisters, all old maids, who lose their money. The book is not remarkable, though there are amusing episodes. A passage, however, is worth quoting that throws some light on the conditions of translating in France, and the reasons for the many bad translations of which complaint has been frequently made of late. A young man suddenly finds himself deprived of his income through the collapse of the mines in which his money was invested; he is absolutely unprepared for earning a livelihood, and as his sole stock in trade is an excellent knowledge of foreign tongues, he proposes to do translations for the publishers. The friend to whom he confides his plan is an experienced and successful literary man. Here is his reply:

'La traduction? mais c'est le dernier des métiers. Travaillerais-tu quatorze heures par jour, qu'il ne te donnerait pas de quoi manger du pain sec! Depuis que tout le monde s'est mis à faire des traductions, c'est un moyen fini, archifini. Je connais un hôtel du noble faubourg dont tous les habitants traduisent,—jusqu'au concierge—tu m'entends? La douairière racée—oh combien!—use ses lunettes à transcrire les méditations des néo-catholiques de New-York. Elle s'entend à construire une phrase comme moi à tirer l'aiguille; il lui faut un professeur de Faculté pour remettre en français ses versions. La fille non moins racée s'est mise aux romans italiens qu'elle a soins de choisir au poivre de Cayenne! Les bureaux de rédaction sont encombrés de ses manu-

scrits et je te révélerai qu'ils sont invariablement reçus, quitte à les faire reviser par les secrétaires, car cette dame non seulement ne réclame aucuns honoraires mais, par désir de publicité, elle va jusqu'à truffer ses cahiers de billets de cent. J'abrègerai l'énumération. Le gendre, socialiste, par snobisme, s'occupe de divulguer les ouvrages de la Bibliothèque Rouge, et comme il sait à peine l'anglais et pas du tout l'allemand, on dit—mais on dit tant de choses!—que ce n'est point pour des prunes qu'il engagea un cocher de Londres et un concierge de Poméranie! Jusqu'aux fils qui, tout potaches qu'ils sont, feuilletent le dictionnaire; il ne s'agit encore que de textes classiques, c'est le commencement! La maladie de la famille les guette déjà.'

Romain Rolland is continuing at great length and in minute detail the life and adventures of his 'Jean Christophe.' The latest volume that has come my way deals with the young German musician's arrival in Paris, and his early adventures there. It gives a very pessimistic picture of Paris at the present time, especially of the artistic life of the city. Jean Christophe searches everywhere for art: he seeks it in literature, in the theatre, in music, in painting. The result is seen in the following words, which occur at the end of the book:

"Ce n'est pas tant le talent qui manque à votre art," disait Christophe à Sylvain Kohn, "que le caractère. Vous auriez plus besoin d'un grand critique, d'un Lessing, d'un . . ."

"D'un Boileau?" dit Sylvain Kohn, goguenardant.

"D'un Boileau, peut-être bien, que de dix artistes de génie."

"Si nous avions un Boileau," dit Sylvain Kohn, "on ne l'écouterait pas."

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"Si on ne l'écoutait pas, c'est qu'il ne serait pas un Boileau," repliqua Christophe. . . . "Ce n'est pas possible. Il y a autre chose."

"Qu'est-ce que vous voulez de plus?" demanda Kohn.

'Christophe répéta avec opiniâtreté: "La France."'

In another volume of the series, 'Antoinette,' Rolland pursues the device of the seventeenth century writers of romance, and gives in full the life-history of a little French governess with whom Jean Christophe had been brought in contact for a few hours.

'Nietzschéenne,' a new novel by the lady who calls herself 'Daniel Lesueur,' is not a very distinguished piece of work. A big motor factory, a strike of the workmen, philanthropic efforts to improve their condition, 'la haute finance' on a large scale, Parisian smart society, form the setting for the intrigues described. The heroine, a beautiful, accomplished, unmarried woman, whose youth has been somewhat stormy, rules her actions when she has emerged into calmer regions by Nietzsche's philosophy; but it fails to help her when she falls in love with a married man, although she finally saves his life at the expense of her own.

Edouard Rod calls his latest novel, 'Aloÿse Valérien,' 'une étude passionnelle.' He declares that it is his intention in such studies only to describe without prejudice 'les troubles semés dans la vie humaine par les jeux cruels de la passion.' He also desires to show that these difficulties are not due to faults in institutions and laws, but to men's own natures and to the permanent opposition

between their individual instincts and the necessity of conforming to the laws of the community. I have seen this book praised as the best of all Rod has written. But both in human interest and in artistic skill, it surely falls below 'Michel Teissier' and 'L'ombre s'étend sur la montagne.' 'Aloÿse Valérien' is the story of an erring wife who suffered deeply for her fault (her husband was killed by her lover in a duel), and who desired to save her daughter from a similar fate. Both had made uncongenial marriages, and in both cases the husbands were of common clay, while the wives were 'femmes d'élite.' It would seem to point the moral that marriages of convenience should be made with caution.

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'Du Bartas en Angleterre' by H. Ashton is an important contribution to the study of comparative literature. The author shows how great an influence the works of Du Bartas, through Sylvester's translation, have had on English poets, especially on Milton and on William Browne. Ashton thinks that Shakespeare also came under the influence of Du Bartas, and attributes the wonderfully beautiful epithets, which have generally been ascribed to Shakespeare's acquaintance with translations of the Greek poets, notably Homer, to Sylvester's 'Du Bartas.'

'Nous avons l'intime conviction que jamais aucune traduction d'œuvres grecques n'ont la vogue de l'ouvrage de Sylvester et nous demeurons persuadé, qu'en dernière analyse, c'est autant à Du Bartas qu'à Homère qu'il faut

drait remonter pour trouver la source des mots composés Shakespériens le plus osés (*proud-pied April, heaven-kissing hill, cloud-kissing*).

Pleasure is always to be found by those who think, and who care for ideas, in any study of Goethe and his works. A French critic has well said, 'l'excellence de la littérature est de nous habituer à prendre plaisir aux idées.' Georges Dalmeyda, assured that nothing gives that pleasure in so high a degree as Goethe's 'Essais antiquisants,' has written a most interesting volume on 'Goethe et le drame antique.' All lovers of Goethe will appreciate the book, and give it the detailed study it deserves. It is divided into three parts: (1) 'Le libre apprentissage. Vers l'art antiquisant'; (2) 'Drames et théories classiques. Les théories et la pratique du théâtre'; (3) 'Du classicisme au symbolisme.' It was Goethe who advised us 'to be Greeks in our way,' by which he meant that Greece offers an eternal lesson not only to the artist, but to the man. Goethe gives the most personal and most free interpretation of Greek tragedy. Perhaps the lesson his work contains for the artist is—

'De chercher en lui-même et dans l'expérience une sage conception de la vie, et de lui donner la forme la plus nettement intelligible, la plus harmonieusement expressive; cette sagesse, Goethe l'a trouvée pour lui-même dans cette "limitation," d'où sort notre liberté véritable, et dans la contemplation des rapports éternels des choses, qui assure notre propre éternité. Tel est l'enseignement qu'il tire de l'art grec, et particulièrement du drame.'

Everyone knows Tischbein's famous portrait of 'Goethe in Italy.' Goethe made the painter's acquaintance in Rome, and was so much attracted by his personality that he went to live in the same house with him; and later they went together to Naples. A new biography of this remarkable man by Franz Landsberger is very welcome. Tischbein had intercourse with most of the celebrated men and women of his time and painted their portraits. Besides Goethe he knew and painted, among others, Amalie, Duchess of Weimar, Canova, Lady Hamilton, Heine, and the Duke of Wellington. Tischbein undoubtedly influenced and assisted Goethe in the art studies he made while in Italy, studies which resulted later in many important works. What he saw in Italy satisfied his 'burning thirst for true art,' and he not only became acquainted there with the true art for which he longed, but he mastered it, and was thus enabled to produce such masterpieces as his 'Iphigénie,' his 'Tasso,' and his 'Faust.'

Excellent criticism and wise thought are contained in René Doumic's 'Le Théâtre Nouveau,' where he sums up ten years of dramatic activity in France. If those who are contemplating the establishment of a national theatre in England would read this volume, they would see how very different is the position of the theatre in France compared with its position in England, and how the difference is due to temperament in the first place, and in the second to social conditions that do not prevail in this country. Doumic says: 'Ne dites pas de mal du théâtre: c'est la dernière religion de la France.' There is the whole matter

in a nutshell. He divides the theatre into: (1) 'le théâtre gai'; (2) 'le théâtre de prédication sociale'; (3) 'le théâtre d'idées,' and criticises in detail the plays that have appeared in each 'genre.' Naturally all the most important of these have been described in my articles here.

Doumic makes some very pregnant remarks on the 'théâtre d'idées,' which might well be taken to heart by some of our younger dramatists. He says that a piece which contains ideas must be a play all the same, and must not cause the audience to yawn. He scarcely believes in the opinion sometimes expressed that the public gets the plays it demands. He declares that:

'Le public n'a jamais imposé aucune forme d'art: il prend ce qu'on lui donne. Il est docile: il a besoin d'être guidé. Il en a plus grand besoin que jamais, par ce qu'il devient plus nombreux: il ne l'a jamais été moins que maintenant.'

The book includes an essay on suicide on the stage, a feature of a large number of our modern comedies. Doumic reminds us that—

'L'objet de la comédie de mœurs n'est pas le même que celui de la tragédie. La tragédie nous met sous les yeux les effets de la passion portée à son paroxysme; la comédie a pour objet de nous montrer le train de la vie ordinaire; elle ne doit donc pas donner au "fait divers" plus d'importance et plus de fréquence qu'il n'en a réellement. Que dans certains cas, et dans les concours de circonstances où il faillit du sujet même, le dénouement par le suicide en vaille un autre, cela n'est pas impossible. La plupart du temps, il n'est qu'un expédient.'

In fact suicide on the stage is 'un coup de désespoir,' a confession of weakness on the part of the dramatist—his last resource when at a loss for a conclusion.

Under the title 'Les Muses Françaises. Anthologie des Femmes-Poètes,' Alphonse Séché has selected and edited with biographical notices poems by French women poets from Marie de France to Thérèse Maquet (1200-1891). It is fairly representative, but ceasing arbitrarily in 1891 it could not include the work of the Comtesse de Noailles, the most distinguished French poetess of to-day. Séché gives an excellent appreciation of Madame Desbordes-Valmore, who is perhaps the most remarkable woman lyric poet of modern times, and too little known or read in this country. She was contemporary with Mrs. Browning, and a comparative study of the two poets is interesting both in the light of literary movements and developments, and in that of the woman's outlook on life which is and must be essentially different from that of men. In most of the arts it is unnecessary and even rather absurd to make distinctions between the work of the sexes, but if such separation is to be made, there is more reason for it in lyric poetry than anywhere else. It would have been better, I think, if M. Séché had not included poems by George Sand, Madame de Staël, and Eugénie de Guérin, all of whom are very distinguished prose-writers, but very minor poets.

* * * * *

The following recently published books deserve attention :—

378 RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

Théodore II. Lascaris, Empereur de Nicée. Par Jean Pappadopoulos.

A contribution to Byzantine history.

Les Fêtes et les Chants de la Révolution française. Par Julien Tiersot.

A chapter in the history of the French Revolution written to support the thesis that a nation's amusements and methods of rejoicing afford insight into its character.

La Campagne de 1800 à l'armée des Grisons. Par le Lieutenant Henri Leplus.

A contribution to the history of the Napoleonic wars.

Itinéraire général de Napoléon I^{er}. Par Albert Schuermans. With a preface by Henry Houssaye.

A detailed itinerary with most excellent and illuminating notes. Houssaye reminds us that Sainte-Beuve described the notes to a historical work as 'le livre d'en bas.'

Le Tribunal Révolutionnaire (1793-5). Par G. Lenotre.

A volume of the series entitled 'Mémoires et souvenirs sur la Révolution et l'Empire publiés avec des documents inédits.' It offers a genre picture, not a fresco painting, of the life of the *Palais* during the evil days of the Revolution. It is based on contemporary documents, and attempts to disprove Descartes's *dictum*, 'S'ils ne changent ni augmentent les choses pour les rendre plus dignes d'être lues, les historiens en omettent, presque toujours, les plus basses et les moins illustres, d'où vient que le reste ne paraît pas ce qu'il est.'

L'Assistance et l'État en France à la veille de la Révolution (Généralités de Paris, Rouen, Alençon, Orléans, Chalons, Soissons, Amiens), 1764-90. Par Camille Bloch.

RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE. 379

An interesting account of the ideas prevailing about philanthropy in the eighteenth century, when charity began to be regarded as a duty of man, and 'bienfaisance publique' as a duty of nations.

Le poète J. Fr. Regnard en son Chateau de Grillon. Par Joseph Guyot.

Throws some new light on Regnard's personality.

Textes Choisis. Léonard de Vinci. Pensées, théories, preceptes, fables, et facéties. With introduction by Péladan, and thirty-one facsimiles.

Those who read French and not Italian, and fear to attack Richter's English translation of the whole of Leonardo's literary works, can gather here some idea of the great painter's writings.

Voyage au Thibet par la Mongolie. De Pékin aux Indes. Par le Comte de Lesdain.

Lesdain and his wife claim to be the first Europeans to have crossed the great table-land of Thibet from north to south without having been obliged to turn back on reaching Lhassa. The author considers it a case of fortune favouring the bold. He has written a very interesting travel-book.

La Vie politique dans les deux mondes. Published under the direction of Achille Viallate, with a preface by Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu. First year: 1st October, 1906—30th September, 1907.

A useful work of reference for contemporary history. It gives an account of the political events in the two hemispheres during the period named.

Briefwechsel Friedrichs des Grossen mit Voltaire. Edited by Reinhold Koser and Hans Droysen.

This is the first part, and contains the correspondence of the Crown Prince from 1736 to 1740, giving both his letters and those of Voltaire arranged in order.

380 RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

Hebbels Briefe. Ausgewählt und biographisch verbunden von Kurt Kuchler.

Hebbel the dramatist is known and admired by all lovers of German literature, but Hebbel the man is less appreciated. In these capially chosen letters he writes, as it were, his own biography. His acquaintance is well worth making, and no better way can be imagined than through this volume.

Die Melodien der Troubadours. Von Dr. J. B. Beck.

The melodies are taken from contemporary manuscripts, and are transcribed into modern notation. They are accompanied by an essay on the development of musical notation up to 1250.

Geschichte der Motette. Von Hugo Leichtentritt.

The second volume of the series entitled 'Kleine Handbücher der Musikgeschichte nach Gattungen,' edited by Hermann Kretschmar. The series promises to be most useful and interesting.

ELIZABETH LEE.

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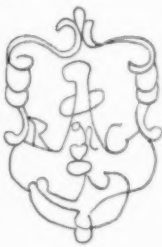

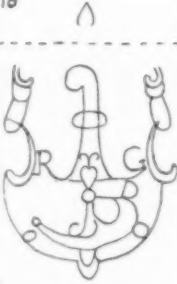
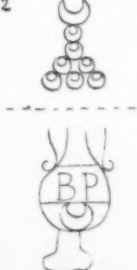


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DESIGNS USED IN SHAK

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| <p>0</p> <p>NO WATER MARK</p> | <p>1</p>  | <p>2</p>  | <p>3</p>  |
| <p>8</p>  | <p>9</p>  | <p>10</p>  | <p>11</p>  |
| <p>16</p>  | <p>17</p>  | <p>18</p>  | <p>NOTES</p> <p>These marks are reproduced from free-hand drawings, and must, therefore, not be taken as accurate representations. They are much reduced and only roughly to scale.</p> |
| <p>22</p>  | <p>23</p>  | <p>24</p>  | <p>It is not absolutely certain whether Nos. 1 and 14, and 24 and 27 are really distinct or not.</p> <p>On the other hand, Nos. 18 and 20 may be capable of being resolved.</p> |

ESPEARE WATERMARKS.





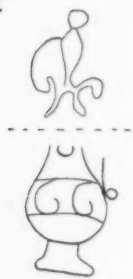


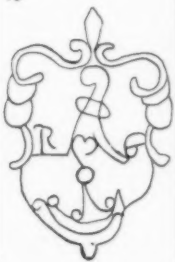






| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| <p>4</p>  | <p>5</p>  | <p>6</p>  | <p>7</p>  |
| <p>12</p>  | <p>13</p>  | <p>14</p>  | <p>15</p>  |
| <p>3. The foot bends and finally breaks up. 5. The B gradually breaks so as to resemble an R, and the bends in the foot also vary considerably. 7. The top bends and breaks. 8. The E bends so as finally to resemble a Y.</p> | <p>19</p>  | <p>20</p>  | <p>21</p>  |
| <p>9. The bends vary a good deal. 15 and 16 may best be distinguished by the circle or ellipse below the heart. 18 is really considerably larger. 22. The B almost resembles an M at times. 23. The bends are considerable in some cases.</p> | <p>25</p>  | <p>26</p>  | <p>27</p>  |

TABLE I.

| Watermark | Merchant of V., 1600 | Mid-sum. N.D., 1600 | Oldcastle, 1600 | Henry V., 1608 | Lear, 1608 | Merry Wives, 1619 | Yorka. Trag., 1619 | 1 Contention, 1619 | 2 Contention, 1619 | Pericles, 1619 |
|-----------|----------------------|---------------------|-----------------|----------------|------------|-------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------|
| 0 | | 1 | | 7 | 10 | | | | | |
| 1 | 3 | 1 | | | 1 | | 3 | | | 3 |
| 2 | 6 | 9 | | | 7 | 4 | 8 | | | 17 |
| 3 | 2 | | | | | 4 | | | | |
| 4 | | 12 | | | | 6 | | | | |
| 5 | | 6 | 7 | 3 | | 9 | | | | |
| 6 | 8 | 5 | | | 1 | 1 | 2 | | | 4 |
| 7 | 3 | 3 | | | 1 | 2 | | | | 3 |
| 8 | 4 | 1 | | | | 1 | | | | |
| 9 | 3 | 2 | | | | | | | | |
| 10 | | | | | 3 | | | | | |
| 11 | | | | | 3 | | | | | |
| 12 | | | | 1 | 5 | | | | | |
| 13 | | | | | 3 | | | | | |
| 14 | 9 | | | | 1 | 1 | 2 | | | 2 |
| 15 | | 18 | 2 | | | | | | | |
| 16 | | 8 | 3 | | | | | | | |
| 17 | | 5 | | | | | | | | |
| 18 | 2 | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| 19 | | | | 3 | 3 | | | | | |
| 20 | | | | 3 | 1 | | | | | |
| 21 | | 1 | | 2 | 3 | | | | | |
| 22 | | | | 3 | | | | | | |
| 23 | | | | | | | 32 | 32 | 4 | |
| 24 | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| 25 | | | | 1 | | | | | | |
| 26 | | | | 1 | | | | | | |
| 27 | 1 | | | | | | | | | |

The watermark numbers refer to the accompanying plate. The numbers in the table indicate the number of times the mark occurs in the four copies of each play examined.

TABLE II.

| SHEET | A | B | C | D | E | F | G | H | I | K | L |
|----------------------|-------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| Merchant of V., 1600 | C. 2 | 6 | 1 | 14 | 2 | 6 | 6 | 14 | 14 | 8 | |
| G. 1 | 1 | 7 | 14 | 9 | 2 | 3 | 14 | 6 | 8 | | |
| M. 2 | 18 | 7 | 14 | 9 | 6 | 3 | 14 | 6 | 8 | | |
| H. 2 | 18 | 7 | 14 | 9 | 2 | 6 | 14 | 6 | 8 | | |
| Mid-sum. N.D., 1600 | C. 6 | 7 | 8 | 5 | 9 | 2 | 2 | | | | |
| G. 7 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 1 | 24 | 6 | 2 | | | | |
| M. 6 | 0 | 27 | 5 | 7 | 2 | 2 | 2 | | | | |
| H. 6 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 9 | 2 | 6 | 2 | | | | |
| Oldcastle 1600 | C. 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 16 | 15 | 5 | 15 | 15 | 5 | |
| G. 15 | 15 | 17 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 5 | 15 | 15 | 5 | | |
| M. 15 | 16 | 17 | 16 | 15 | 15 | 5 | 15 | 15 | 5 | | |
| H. 15 | 17 | 17 | 15 | 16 | 15 | 21 | 15 | 15 | 5 | | |
| Henry V., 1608 | C. 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 0 | 16 | 0 | | | | |
| G. 12 | 5 | 5 | 22 | 16 | 15 | 0 | | | | | |
| M. 19 | 20 | 5 | 21 | ? | 15 | 0 | | | | | |
| H. 19 | 20 | 0 | 22 | 0 | 16 | 0 | | | | | |
| Lear 1608 | C. 1 | 2 | 6 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 0 | 12 | 0 | 13 | 0 |
| G. 2 | 2 | 25 | 11 | 10 | 19 | 0 | 19 | 20 | 13 | 0 | |
| M. 2 | 14 | 2 | 11 | 26 | 19 | 0 | 12 | 21 | 0 | 21 | |
| H. 2 | 2 | 7 | 10 | 0 | 12 | 0 | 12 | 0 | 13 | 21 | |
| Merry Wives 1619 | C. 3 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 4 | | | | |
| G. 3 | 14 | 7 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 5 | | | | | |
| M. 3 | 2 | 3 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 2 | | | | | |
| H. 8 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 5 | | | | | |
| Yorka. Trag., 1619 | C. 1 | 1 | 2 | ? | | | | | | | |
| G. 2 | 2 | 2 | 6 | | | | | | | | |
| M. 2 | 2 | 2 | 6 | | | | | | | | |
| H. 14 | 14 | 1 | 2 | | | | | | | | |
| SHEET | A—Q | R | S | T | V | X | Y | Z | 2A | 2B | |
| Content. & Per. 1619 | C. 23 | 2 | 23 | 2 | 2 | 23 | 6 | 2 | 1? | ? | |
| G. 23 | 2 | 23 | 2 | 1 | 7 | 6 | 1 | 23 | 2 | | |
| M. 23 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 7 | 6 | 2 | 14 | ? | | |
| H. 23 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 7 | 6 | 2 | 14 | ? | | |

This table shows the watermark found in each sheet of each play according to the four copies examined. C=Capell copy at Trinity College, Cambridge; G=Garrick copy at the British Museum; M=Malone copy at the Bodleian; H=the copy in the possession of Mr. Huth.

ON CERTAIN FALSE DATES IN SHAKESPEARIAN QUARTOS.

II.

THE theory advanced in a former number of the *LIBRARY*, according to which certain Shakespearian quartos bearing the dates 1600 and 1608 were really printed in 1619, while it has been accepted by several of the authorities whose judgement I most value, has not altogether escaped criticism. Mr. Sidney Lee, writing in '*Athenæum*,' and Mr. John Phin, in the New York '*Nation*,' fix upon the evidence of the '*Post Tenebras Lux*' device, while Mr. A. H. Huth, in the '*Academy*,' attacks the much more important question of the watermarks. Of this later: first I have certain things to say with regard to the device.

The only point at which Mr. Lee endeavours to meet the evidence adduced is in the remark: 'Nor would Mr. Greg appear to have made allowance for . . . the recurrence and duplication of printers' marks and blocks in Elizabethan and Jacobean books.' I do not know how much attention Mr. Lee has himself given to this important and difficult subject, a subject upon which no one whose opinion is worth having will be inclined to speak off-hand. But if he has ever considered the matter carefully he will know that two sorts of blocks

were in use, metal and wood. He will know, moreover, that the former of these, though in earlier days they often bent and broke, in Elizabethan times seldom show any specific breaks at all, but merely general wear and tear of the face; while, on the other hand, wood blocks are easily distinguished, not only by specific breaks in later times, but throughout by their habit of cracking along the grain. Further than this, he will know that the difference between the earlier and later metal blocks is due to the fact that the former were cut on soft metal plates, while the latter were cast in hard type-metal, and that of these consequently any number of duplicates may exist. What I do not fancy that Mr. Lee knows is any evidence that would lead one to imagine that wood blocks ever were, or at that time could be, re-cut or in any way reproduced so as to be indistinguishable from the originals. There are plenty of instances of both wood and metal blocks being re-cut, but the new blocks can be distinguished at a glance from the originals. If wood blocks were ever duplicated so as to be indistinguishable, the fact ought to be easily demonstrable in the same way as is the duplication of metal blocks—it is only a matter of a little careful research. Perhaps Mr. Lee will supply the evidence.

All this, however, is beside the point. Even were Mr. Lee able to prove the duplication of wood blocks, he would be no nearer to getting rid of the evidence adduced. It will be remembered that the 'Post Tenebras Lux' device, an unquestionable wood block, exhibits certain splits and

breaks, and that these are more noticeable in one of the plays dated 1600 than in another book dated 1605. To account for this on the supposition of re-cutting Mr. Lee would have to argue that two blocks independently cut on different pieces of wood proceeded to crack and chip in use in an identical manner, though to a different extent!

There is not the smallest doubt possible that the two impressions of the device in question are from one and the same block. Mr. Phin fully realises this. His suggestion is as follows: 'Bearing in mind that the wood block had been used from 1593 to 1596,' let us suppose that it had begun to split after being used in 1596, but that the printer had not taken the trouble to repair it, and had used it in the quartos of 1600 just as it was, for these quartos were probably produced as cheaply as possible. In these quartos the split or crack is quite prominent, but in 1605, when they came to use the block in Dent's book, the split had opened so that the block was no longer available without repair. They therefore resorted to a very common device; they bored one or more holes horizontally through the block, and through each hole they passed an iron bolt with a screw and nut on the end, and in this way they actually made the block better than it was in 1600.' Mr. Phin thinks, therefore, that the evidence of the block 'would not have been offered by Mr. Greg if due consideration had been given to the technique of

¹ Mr. Phin is in error here. These dates apply to the 'Heb Ddieu' device. The 'Post Tenebras Lux' block, which is the one in question, was used from 1562 onwards.

wood-engraving and printing.' Although I am not, like Mr. Phin, an expert engraver, I am well aware of the method he describes, a method commonly practised in the nineteenth century, and I dare say earlier. But I have never come across any evidence that it was known as early as 1600, nor even, which is not the same thing, any statement to that effect. Moreover, Mr. Phin's theory only accounts for the splits and not for the breaks.

But although I do not think that either of the explanations advanced by Mr. Lee and Mr. Phin will bear examination, they were yet quite right in attacking my evidence. That evidence is invalid, though not for the reasons they supposed, and I have to thank my friend Mr. Pollard for a severe shock to the theory he was himself so helpful in elaborating. Perhaps it was an *excès de zèle* that led him to collect all the instances of the 'Post Tenebras Lux' device that he could find. Among others he discovered one in a book printed by Roberts, which was, to say the least, superfluous from the point of view of our theory. This impression, moreover, closely resembled that of '1600' in the breaks, and the volume in which it occurred (Wimbledon's Sermon) bore the date 1593 on the title-page and 1599 in the colophon. This was distinctly annoying; but it is clear that a book that cannot make up its mind within six years when it was printed is a bad authority, and I was quite prepared to argue that this was only another of Jaggard's irregularities. However, an examination of further instances only confirmed the disquieting discovery, and established the astonishing

fact that the cracks in the block opened and closed and the breaks grew greater and less quite irrespective of the date of printing.

I think this will come as no less of a surprise to other bibliographers than it did to me. The fact itself being undoubted, less interest attaches to the explanation, but I can only suppose that the size of the cracks varies indirectly with the dampness of the block, and possibly, though less probably, with the tightness of the locking, and that the magnitude of the breaks depends on the amount of pressure, which itself may again depend on the dampness of the block. It is usual to assume that the sheets were printed wet.

I may say at once that this discovery, however unwelcome, does not in any way shake my belief in the substantial accuracy of the theory put forward in my former article. The breaks in the device were the last piece of evidence I came across, long after I had made up my mind on the main question. I regret having to relinquish this evidence, because it seemed to supply the most obvious and the most easily explained proof of the theory, but I never myself regarded it as either the most fundamental or the most weighty of the arguments. Of the typographical evidence there still remains the general similarity of the title-pages, the fact that the 'Heb Ddieu' device has not yet been found in any book of Roberts', and the fact that the large numerals are first found in 1610. These considerations are not to be neglected, but it is clear that as evidence they are at the mercy of any chance discovery in the future.

The foundation of my case remains the watermarks.

This brings me to Mr. Huth's criticisms. He writes: 'Mr. Greg alleges that the watermarks in all the quartos—both those professing to be printed in 1600 and those dated 1619—show the paper to belong to one batch; and since the wires get worn out within one year, the paper must have been made about the same time, and it is impossible that Paviour [or rather Jaggard, the printer] could have got hold of the same batch of paper in 1619 that Roberts used in 1600. I venture to think, however, that if Mr. Greg carefully measures watermarks which appear to the eye to be identical, he will find that they are not. To take the "Pot" mark marked "LM," for instance, the first I found in my copies that occurred in (1) "The Merchant of Venice," 1600; (2) "King Lear," 1608; and (3) "Merry Wives," 1619, the measurement of the base at the greatest breadth is in (1) 14 mm., in (2) 15.5 mm., in (3) 14.5 mm.; and there are also variations in the form of the mark itself, which show that the paper in these editions did not come from the same wire.'

Now it will be noticed that a slight difference in the size of the marks is easily accounted for by the varying shrinkage of different sheets in drying, and differences of form by the bending of the wire in the frame. Of course, if it could be shown, as Mr. Huth seems to imply, that all LM pots in 1600 quartos measure 14 mm., all in 1608 quartos 15.5 mm., and all in 1619 quartos 14.5 mm., one might fairly conclude that the marks were not the

same. This, however, cannot be maintained. The mark in question occurs twelve times in the Capell copies of the plays. The variations are only from 14·5 to 15 mm. In plays dated 1600 it occurs five times, four 15 and one 14·5; in those dated 1608 only once, measuring 14·5; in those dated 1619 six times, three 15 and three 14·5. If, therefore, we are to conclude that there is more than one mark we shall nevertheless have to admit that each occurs in plays dated 1600 and 1619—which leaves the question exactly where it was.

I have recently had the opportunity of discussing the whole matter personally with Mr. Huth, to whom I am much indebted, both for his criticism of my theory and for his kindness in allowing me access to his copies of the original quartos. His view is that the wire which produces what is called the watermark was fashioned in a mould, and was then in some way hammered or soldered into the wire frame. This would certainly prevent more than a very slight amount of variation between sheets made from the same frame, while a number of different frames might have the same mark (that is, a mark from the same mould) with perhaps small variations due to the wire bending while being fastened to the frame. Whether watermarks are now made in moulds I do not know, and whether they were so made in Elizabethan days seems to me a difficult, perhaps an impossible, question to answer. Such is certainly not the view of M. Briquet, who gives the mark a shorter life than the frame, and the latter no more than two years. According to Mr. Huth, though the frame might perish the

mould for the mark would remain, so that the mark (with possible small variations) might have an almost indefinite life.¹ In favour of Mr. Huth's view is the fact that some marks do appear to bend not only to varying degrees but in varying manners in different instances. Against it is the fact that other marks seem to bend progressively. To be certain, here, on which side lies the weight of evidence would require a large collection of clear examples of the same mark, such as it is very difficult indeed to obtain. Also against this view is the enormous number of extant marks. It is, indeed, comparatively rare to find the same mark occurring in two independent books. I recently purchased eleven quarto pamphlets printed between 1600 and 1625 for the express purpose of examining the watermarks. In these I discovered thirty different marks, of which four only occurred in more than one. I have also examined all the books in the British Museum printed by Roberts or the Jaggards.² In two doubtful instances marks of the Shakespeare quartos appear to be repeated in volumes printed by one of the Jaggards between, I think, 1609 and 1625: among the marks in Roberts' books I have found no case even of

¹ Unfortunately this view undermines the whole of M. Briquet's argument from dated marks, since these would, of course, be discarded at the end of the year, while there would be no reason to destroy the moulds of undated marks. It should be noted, however, that M. Briquet also made calculations based on other data and arrived at very much the same results.

² All, that is, in folio or quarto: in the smaller sizes the marks become indistinguishable owing to folding and cutting.

resemblance. Not only does the precise combination of over twenty different marks in the Shakespeare volume remain a thing *sui generis*, but even the recurrence of individual marks elsewhere appears to be rare, if not unknown.

But I am not particularly concerned to maintain the brevity of the life of watermarks. If the frames endured, it may be argued that in 1619 the printer acquired a fresh stock of paper manufactured from the same frames as had done duty for the stocks of 1600 and 1608: if they perished, then it may be argued that the printer obtained a fresh supply from some accidentally unexhausted stock. What I do maintain is that either supposition involves a draft upon the bank of coincidence which that valuable institution cannot be in reason expected to honour.

Suppose for a moment that Mr. Huth were right in maintaining that the LM pots in the 'Merchant of Venice,' 'King Lear,' and the 'Merry Wives' were from three distinct frames with different measurements. Would it not be a most remarkable occurrence that three different plays, printed at three rather widely different dates by two distinct printers, plays which it happens were later gathered together and issued as a collected volume by an independent publisher, should contain three watermarks so curiously similar, and that, moreover, not one of these marks nor any resembling them should be traceable in any other book printed by either of the men concerned in the production of these plays? Would it not strain coincidence beyond the bounds of belief? It is evident that

upon the orthodox theory it is even more preposterous to regard the marks as different than to regard them as the same.

But from whatever point of view we look at the question, it must be clear that the miscellaneous collection of marks found in the paper of this group of plays—marks practically unique as far as the productions of any of the printers possibly concerned have come down to us—is absolutely fatal to the orthodox theory. Whether we imagine Roberts, and after him Jaggard, going to a special stock of paper for just these plays printed at various dates between 1600 and 1620, or whether we imagine Roberts, and after him Jaggard, going to the maker and obtaining paper from the same frames just for these said plays, the transaction is equally unthinkable. It would tax the capacity of the august lady who was in the habit of believing as many as three impossible things before breakfast.

The main facts of the case were given in my former article, from an examination of the copies of the plays in question preserved in the Capell collection at Trinity College, Cambridge. I have since examined the Garrick copies at the British Museum, the Malone copies at the Bodleian Library, and finally those in the possession of Mr. A. H. Huth. I am in consequence in a position both to correct in some respects my former account and also somewhat to extend the discussion. It must be borne in mind, to begin with, that in most books of the period we either find a single watermark running through all the sheets, or else a mixture of perhaps three or four different marks.

This suggests that paper was supplied by the makers either in homogeneous lots, with one mark throughout, or else in lots containing, say, from two to six different marks, though of course of the same quality throughout. I have never come across either any single book with anything like the number of watermarks found in these plays, or any group of books with such a connected series of marks running through them.

The mixture of marks may be explained in one of two ways. We may either suppose that the maker used a number of different frames in the manufacture of one batch of paper, and so sent out parcels containing a large number of different marks; or else that the mixture resulted from the using up of a number of remnants of different parcels. The first of these alternatives is rendered unlikely by the fact that mixtures of such a large number of marks do not elsewhere occur. If, on the other hand, the second alternative be adopted, it will have to be admitted that the whole group of plays in which the marks occur, must have been printed at the same time. Now if the mixture originated in the paper-mill, the different marks will be found mixed up anyhow just as the sheets happened to be collected after drying. If, on the other hand, the printer was using up a number of remnants, the different papers will have been used up in batches, and the marks will tend to be the same in different copies of the same sheet. I say will tend, because the result will only be approximate; indeed the tendency must be very largely obscured. The reason for this is, in the first place,

that some of the remnants used themselves probably contained more than one mark; and, secondly, that during the printing of a particular sheet the pile of paper at the pressman's side would sometimes run out and be replenished from a different stock.¹ I think that in spite of these obscuring causes, such a tendency is clearly traceable.

I must now ask the reader to turn to the accompanying plates and tables. The former attempt a reproduction of all the marks which I have been able to distinguish in the four copies of the plays hitherto examined, and will give some idea of their variety. I must warn readers, however, against placing implicit reliance upon these reproductions. They are from freehand drawings, and I am by no means an expert draughtsman. The marks are often vague and indistinct; they occur in the fold of the paper in a quarto book, and are therefore often difficult to see clearly. I am by no means prepared to stake my faith upon every detail (for instance that marks 1 and 14 may not be the same, or that under 18 I may not have confused two distinct marks), but I do not think that any scepticism as to the general results would be justified. The first table corrects and enlarges the table given in my previous article. I there distinguished twenty different marks in the Capell

¹ There is yet another cause, which may have played an important part. The two formes of one sheet may have been placed simultaneously upon different presses, supplied with different makes of paper. Then those sheets begun on press A would be perfected on press B, and those begun on press B would be perfected on press A. This would result in half the edition being on one paper, and half on another.

copies; I now distinguish twenty-three, and add four new ones from the Garrick and Malone collections. The second table is the one to which I desire for the moment to call attention. It gives, for the four copies examined, the watermark in every sheet of every play. Of course it would have been more satisfactory to have the data from a larger number of copies, but I think that those provided are sufficient for our immediate purpose. Where we find the same mark in all four copies of a particular sheet, we may take it as probable that there was at least no large admixture of any other mark in the whole edition of that sheet.

The most obvious instance of homogeneity is supplied by the two parts of the 'Contention,' which have one mark (23) throughout. It seems pretty clear that this was the first play printed, and that it all but exhausted the stock or remnant of this particular paper, for we only find a few odd instances of the mark recurring in 'Pericles.' This play has signatures continuous with the 'Contention,' and already we find a mixture of six different marks, clearly showing that the printer was using up whatever paper he could lay his hand on. Two sheets (R, T), however, show mark 2 throughout, and two more with only a small intermixture of mark 1. Another sheet (Y) shows mark 6 in all copies. The mixture of marks 1 and 2 also occurs in the 'Yorkshire Tragedy' (C, and possibly A and B), and possibly in the 'Merry Wives' (B), all dated 1619, and again in 'Lear' (A), dated 1608, and the 'Merchant of Venice' (A), dated 1600, while mark 2 occurs alone in one sheet (H)

of the 'Midsummer Night's Dream,' also dated 1600. Mark 14 occurs throughout in two sheets (D, H) of the 'Merchant of Venice,' which may therefore be supposed to have been printed on the same press. The same play has another sheet (K) in which mark 8 apparently occurs alone. Both 'Henry V.' and 'Lear' have one sheet (G in each case) in which no mark occurs in any of the four copies. 'Oldcastle' is a particularly interesting play. One sheet (K) has mark 5 throughout, while another (G) has the same varied only by the comparatively rare mark 21. Homogeneous 5's occur also in the 'Midsummer Night's Dream' (D) and the 'Merry Wives' (E), and one may again suspect that only one press was used for these sheets. 'Oldcastle' also shows one homogeneous 17 (C), otherwise only known from a solitary occurrence in an adjacent sheet (B). Again, 'Oldcastle' has three homogeneous 15's (A, H, I), and, what is more, two of the remaining sheets (E, F) show a mixture of marks 15 and 16. This mixture is also found in 'Henry V,' dated 1608 (F). This is one of a set of persistent mixtures that merit attention. The case of marks 15 and 16 is obvious. So is that of marks 12 and 19, which occur three times in connection with one another ('Henry V.' A, 'Lear' F, H), and in connection with no other mark. Less obvious, but still clear, is the case of marks 10 and 11, which occur together to the exclusion of others in one sheet (D) of 'Lear,' and otherwise only mixed with the unique mark 26 and unmarked paper in the next sheet. The interesting point of these persistent conjunctions is

that in each case the marks are similar: marks 15 and 16 are both shields with the initials R G, 12 and 19 pots with the initials G G, 10 and 11 (and 26?) fleurs-de-lys. It looks singularly as though where a stock contained more than one mark, the marks were themselves closely related. I conclude, therefore, that there can be little doubt that the mixture of twenty-eight varieties of paper in the quartos in question is due not to the paper manufacturer, but to the fact that the printer was using up a quantity of remnants. It follows that the quartos must have been printed in one office at one date.¹

There is one objection which may reasonably be brought against this theory of remnants. 'If,' it may be argued, 'the printer had all these remnants lying about his office, he must have been using the bulk of the stock in a number of different books, and it ought to be possible to find at least some of the marks used consistently in works printed by him during the previous decade.' I confess I was astonished at being unable to find them. I think Mr. Pollard has supplied the clue to the puzzle. 'Have we,' he asks, 'merely to do with a manufacturer and a printer, or have we to take account of a middleman?' I think there can be very little doubt that we have.² The middleman bought

¹ If only data could be collected from a sufficient number of copies (a dozen might suffice), it ought to be possible to determine how many batches of paper were used, how many marks there were in each batch, how many presses were used, and which sheets were printed on each press.

² A middleman is not absolutely necessary, for the manufacturer may have done his distribution himself. The argument will not be

large stocks of paper from the manufacturer and sold comparatively small parcels of various sizes to printers. The inevitable result was that he was left with a number of oddments, remainders of various sizes, on his hands. These he simply stacked together and sold off cheap. Of course the main stock must equally have been used up, and should be traceable somewhere, but it may have been sold to a different printer, and even a different town. Moreover, the middleman would not sell to printers only. The time was yet to be when printing and writing paper became differentiated. We have the whole consumption of the finer sorts of paper throughout the whole kingdom to take into account. No wonder that a particular set of marks should be hard to trace.

There is another matter upon which I should like to say a few words before passing from the consideration of this group of plays. I purposely refrained in my previous article from discussing Pavier's motives in placing false dates on his editions. A number of readers, with their heads full of modern book prices, jumped to the conclusion that I must mean that Pavier was endeavouring to obtain higher prices for his books by pretending that they were first editions, and they hastened solemnly to inform me that the desire for first editions was inoperative in the seventeenth century. So little had the idea been in my mind that it never occurred to me that any reader would suppose me guilty of such an outrageous absurdity. altered if we regard a retail department of the mill as doing the work of the middleman.

It is, I think, not difficult to guess, though very difficult to prove, what Pavier's motives may have been. One thing seems pretty certain, namely, that what he wanted to avoid was the charge of having printed plays, to the copyright of some of which at least he had no conceivable right. He placed old dates on the title-pages that it might appear that he was merely selling off the remainders of editions printed years before for other publishers. He had, on the other hand, no reason to make his reprints facsimiles of those he printed from; the date and imprint, together with a general typographical resemblance perhaps, was enough. If we may suppose some impertinent bibliographer to have pointed out that the edition of 'Lear' dated 1608 which he was selling differed from that which was known to have issued from the Pied Bull in that year, Pavier no doubt replied: 'That certainly is so, sir; but have you any reason to believe that there were not two editions printed that year? If you have heretofore only been acquainted with one, allow me at once to sell you his twin brother.' And considering that the world has accepted this answer for just on three centuries, I fancy our bibliographer would have gone away satisfied.

III.

I wish now to inquire what cases of false dates exist, or may be suspected to exist, in early plays outside the particular group we have been examin-

ing. For this purpose I propose to go systematically through the list of those plays of which we have two or more distinct editions bearing the same date, and to ask in each particular instance whether it is reasonable to suppose that more than one edition was really published that year, or whether one of the editions is in this respect fraudulent.

I will begin, however, by a brief mention of certain cases, not of individual plays, in some of which there can be no question whatever of the falseness of the dates. And first of all I will take the case which first opened my eyes to the existence of this particular bibliographical pit-fall—the reprinted imprint. It is an edition of the works of Sir John Suckling. It will be remembered that Suckling's poems were collected after his death under the title of 'Fragmenta Aurea,' and printed in 1646. There are a number of special title-pages to various parts of the work. This volume was reprinted in 1648 and 1658, while some additional 'Last Remains' appeared in 1659. In all these books the date of the general title-page is repeated on the special title-pages. There is also an edition of 'The Works of Sir John Suckling' of 1696, in which the separate title-pages bear the date 1694. All these will be found in the British Museum. Some years ago I chanced to buy an edition of 'The Works,' dated 1676. At first sight I thought that it must be made up from fragments of earlier editions, for the dates on the several title-pages varied widely. Investigation soon showed that this was not the case. The book is a genuine edition, presumably printed in 1676, in which various

earlier dates have been retained. The 'Poems' are dated 1648, the duplicate fifth act of 'Aglaure,' 1672, the three title-pages belonging to the 'Last Remains' have the original date 1659, while the rest of the title-pages occurring in the volume, five in all, are dated 1658.

Another suspicious case among collected editions occurs in Randolph's Poems. I mean the two editions dated 1668. Of these the edition reading 'Poems:' is the later, being printed from that reading 'Poems' (without stop), but how much later it is impossible to say. Considering that the previous editions are dated 1638, 1640, 1643, 1652 (two issues, but only one edition), and 1664, it is hardly reasonable to suppose that two distinct editions should have been required in 1668 and then no further edition till 1875. More than a strong suspicion, however, the evidence does not warrant.

A quite clear instance may be quoted from a different department of literature. There are some seven editions of the Genevan version of the Bible, which can be shown with varying degrees of cogency to have been printed at various dates at Amsterdam and Dort (in one quite indisputable instance at Amsterdam as late as 1633), but which are stated on their title-pages to have been 'Imprinted at London by the Deputies of Christopher Barker . . . 1599.' This example, which I owe to Mr. Pollard, is given on the authority of entries 187-94 and 364 in Darlow and Moule's 'Historical Catalogue of printed editions of the Holy Scriptures in the library of the British and Foreign

Bible Society.' References are there made to previous investigations by Lea Wilson and N. Pocock. It appears to be thought that Barker himself was responsible for the spurious dating.

I now proceed to the discussion of dramatic quartos, of which there are two or more editions dated the same year. First:

'A new and mery Enterlude, called the Trial of Treasure, newly set forth, and neuer before this tyme imprinted.' Thomas Purfoote. 1567. Two editions, one (B.M.) with colophon and two impressions of the device, the other (Bodl.) with one impression of the device and no colophon. The former has just been facsimiled by Mr. Farmer, and a comparison with the Bodleian copy may throw light on the relationship, but at present I have no information on the subject.

Next come three curious cases in which we find two distinct editions with title-pages printed from one setting up of the type.

'The Return from Pernassus: Or The Scourge of Simony. Publiquely acted by the Students in Saint Iohns Colledge in Cambridge.' Printed by G. Eld for Iohn Wright, 1606. S.R. 16 Oct. 1605. Two editions, one with collation A-H⁴ I², the other A-H⁴. They may be compared either at the Bodleian or at Trinity College, Cambridge. No doubt the edition which wanders into a ninth sheet is the earlier. In each case the title-leaf actually forms part of the first sheet.

'The Late and much admired Play called Pericles, Prince of Tyre,' by William Shakespeare, printed for Henry Gosson, 1609. Two editions, known

respectively as the 'Enter' (B.M., Bodl., T.C.C.) and 'Eneer' (B.M.) editions. The former is supposed to be the earlier; it is certainly the more common. They are clearly contemporary and are identical in style. Both have a mixed set of water-marks, some of which occur in both. In the 'Eneer' edition the title-leaf appears to form part of the first sheet. In the Capell copy (T.C.C.) of the 'Enter' edition I do not think it does; in the British Museum copy it is impossible to tell. I have not examined the others.

'Albumazar. A Comedy presented before the Kings Maiestie at Cambridge, the ninth of March, 1614. By the Gentlemen of Trinity Colledge.' Anonymous, but known to be by Thomas Tomkis; printed by Nicholas Okes for Walter Burre, 1615. Two editions, one with the collation A² B-L⁴, the other A-I⁴. Both in the University Library at Cambridge. The edition in ten and a half sheets is, of course, the earlier. The title-leaf, the verso of which is blank, belongs to A². In the nine-sheet edition the *dramatis personae* and prologue have been crowded on to the verso of the title.

To find two distinct editions with identical title-pages is certainly curious. But it should be remembered, that there is reason to suppose that the title of a book was sometimes kept in type for purposes of advertisement;¹ consequently, if a second edition were unexpectedly demanded it might not be necessary to reset this portion.

¹ I owe this point to Mr. R. B. McKerrow, who will, I hope, before long, publish evidence on this and certain similar points.

We now come to a number of what appear to be genuine cases of two entirely distinct editions appearing the same year.

'The Pleasant History of the two angry women of Abington,' by Henry Porter; printed for Joseph Hunt and William Ferbrand, 1599. Another edition omits Hunt's name. Copies of both are in the British Museum. The Hunt edition with the collation A² B-L⁴ M² is almost certainly earlier than the other, which has the collation A-K⁴, but both were certainly printed by the same printer about the same time. The play was not registered.

'The Malcontent. By Iohn Marston. 1604. Printed at London by V. S. for William Aspley, and are to be solde at his shop in Paules Church-yard.' (Bodl., Dyce.)

'The Malcontent. By Iohn Marston. 1604. At London Printed by V. S. for William Aspley, and are to be sold at his shop in Paules Church-yard.' (B.M.)

'The Malcontent. Augmented by Marston. With the additions played by the Kings Maiesties servants. Written by Ihon Webster. 1604. At London Printed by V. S. for William Aspley, and are to be sold at his shop in Paules Church-yard.' (B.M., Bodl., Dyce.) Entered S. R. 5 July 1604, to Aspley and Thomas Thorpe. The date on the title-pages, it will be noticed, is not necessarily that of printing. All three editions, however, were printed by the same printer (Simmes) about the same time. That with the additions is presumably the latest. I should place the British Museum unenlarged edition next to it on the strength of the

similarity of imprint—indeed, the two imprints seem to be from the same setting up.

'Eastward Hoe. As It was playd in the Black-friers. By The Children of her Maiesties Reuels. Made by Geo: Chapman. Ben Ionson. Ioh: Marston.' Printed for William Aspley, 1605. Prologue, l. 5, reads 'opposde.' Another edition reads 'opposd.' (Both B.M. and Bodl.) Entered S. R. 4 Sept. 1605, to Aspley and Thorpe. Valentine Simmes is again the printer. The 'opposde' edition is the earlier. This, as originally issued, contained an offensive passage on leaves E 1 and 2. These (found in the Dyce copy) were cancelled, and other leaves (found in B.M. and Bodl. copies), omitting the passage, inserted in their place. But the scandal sold out the edition, and the play was reprinted as amended.

'A merrie Dialogue, Between Band, Cuffe, and Ruffe: Done by an excellent Wit, And Lately acted in a shew in the famous Vniversity of Cambridge.' Printed by William Stansby for Miles Partrich, 1615.

'Exchange Ware at the second hand, Viz. Band, Ruff, and Cuffe, lately out, and now newly dearned vp. Or Dialogue, acted in a Shew in the famous Vniuersity of Cambridge. The second Edition.' Printed by W. Stansby for Myles Partrich, 1615. There are copies of both editions at the British Museum. There is obviously no reason to suspect the date. A popular university skit would be very likely to run into more than one edition in a year. The same remark applies to the next item.

'Aristippus, Or The Iouiall Philosopher: . . . To which is added, The Conceited Pedlar,' anony-

mous, but later reprinted among Randolph's poems. Printed by Thomas Harper, for John Marriot, sold by Richard Mynne, 1630.' Another edition printed for Robert Allot. Both are in the British Museum. Entered S. R. 26 Mar. 1630, to Marriot; transferred, 1 July 1637, by Allot's widow to Legatt and Crooke 'saluo Jure cuiuscunque.' Both internal and external evidence point to Marriot's edition being the earlier, but the two were clearly printed about the same time.

'Mercurius Britannicus, or The English Intelligencer. A Tragic-Comedy at Paris. Acted with great Applause. Printed in the year, 1641.' There are three editions: one with the collation A-D⁴ E², another A-D⁴, and a third bearing the words: 'Reprinted with Sundry Additions.' That, no doubt, is the order. The British Museum has all three editions. The first edition has an epilogue which is not found in either of the copies of the second, but then both want the last leaf. It is found in the third edition, squeezed in on the verso of D2. The additions appear to have been really made in the second, not the third, edition. There is no particular reason to question any of the dates, but the second, and still more the third, edition does look rather later, and may really have been printed at any time during the Commonwealth. There is also a Latin version of this skit, which is ascribed to Richard Brathwait.

We now pass to those cases which are more or less open to suspicion. And first we have:

'The Comickall Satyre of Euery Man out of his Humor. As it was first composed by the Author

B. I[onson]. Containing more than hath been publickly Spoken or Acted. With the seuerall Character of euery Person. [Motto.] London, Printed for William Holme, and are to be sold at his shoppe at Saricants Inne gate in Fleetstreet. 1600.' Another edition: 'London, Printed for Nicholas Linge. 1600.' The two editions may be seen side by side in the Dyce collection. The play was entered to Holme in the Stationers' Register, 8 April 1600, and the Holme quarto (printed by Peter Short) is undoubtedly the older, and the source of the other, but there can be no very great difference of date. The second quarto bears both the name and mark of Nicholas Linge, the publisher of the first and second editions of *Hamlet*, who later on acquired an interest in the copyright of '*Romeo and Juliet*,' '*Love's Labour's Lost*,' and the '*Taming of A Shrew*.' These with thirteen other books, among which the name of Jonson's play does not appear, he transferred to Smethwick in November 1607, and in April 1638 we find a transfer recorded of '*Every Man out of his Humour*' from Smethwick to Bishop. The absence of any transfer from Holme to Ling or from Ling to Smethwick suggests that there is here at least a case for investigation.

'Albumazar. A Comedy presented before the King's Maiesty at Cambridge. By the Gentlemen of Trinity Colledge. Newly reuised and corrected by a special Hand. London, Printed by Nicholas Okes 1634.' Another edition: 'revised.' We have already considered the earlier editions of this play of Thomas Tomkis' above. The editions dated

1634, which may be compared at Trinity College, Cambridge, are by the same printer, and can hardly differ widely in date. It is, however, noteworthy that the 'revised' edition is consistent in employing the old, and the 'revised' the modern, convention regarding the letters 'u' and 'v.' The play remained popular and was again reprinted in 1668.

'The Knight of the Burning Pestle. Full of Mirth and Delight. Written by Francis Beaumont and Iohn Fletcher. Gent. As it is now Acted by Her Maiesties Servants at the Private house in Drury lane. 1635. [Motto.] London: Printed by N. O. for I. S. 1635.' Another edition: 'Beaumont.' (Both in B. M., Bodl., T.C.C.) The play was originally printed for Walter Burre in 1613. Of the two later editions the 'Beaumont' one is the earlier, retaining the same measure and typographical arrangement as the original. The other includes its misprints and is printed from it. On the ground of general appearance I fancy there can be little doubt that the 'Beaumont' edition is some years the later: I should place it c. 1650.

'The ELDER BROTHER A Comedie. Acted at the Blacke Friers, by his Maiesties Servants. Printed according to the true Copie. Written by Iohn Fletcher Gent. London, Imprinted by F. K. for J. W. and J. B. 1637.' Another edition: 'Elder Brother.' (Both in B.M. and Dyce.) That the former is the earlier and the latter a reprint is shown by a curious reading near the end of the play (V. ii. 72):

though you dare not fight
 Yourself, or fright a foolish officer, young Eustace
 Can do it to a hair.

In the first edition a space before the word 'young' has worked up and made a mark above the line. This caught the attention of the observant, but extraordinarily dense compositor of the other quarto, and he actually printed 'young'! The play was entered S. R. 29 (? 23) Mar. 1637, to Waterson and Benson (the J. W. and J. B. of the quartos). Other editions appeared in 1651, 1661, and 1678 before the play was included in the folio of 1679. The edition of 1651 is printed from the first edition (with certain alterations); that of 1661 from the other '1637' edition; that of 1678 from that of 1661, but reducing the whole to prose. There is, therefore, no reason, so far as the text is concerned, why the second '1637' edition should not have been printed at any date between 1637 and 1661, and there is very considerable reason for supposing it to have originated not far from this latter date. Its late character is obvious when compared with the first edition, but there is much more definite evidence than this. The types of the words 'Elder Brother' and 'COMEDY' on the title-page are identical with those of the 1661 quarto; so is the ornament on B 1 and the initial N on the same page. All these are different in the first edition. Moreover, while the first edition is printed throughout on one make of paper without watermark, both '1637' and 1661 exhibit a mixture of three or four marks, and in the British Museum copies identically the same mark occurs

in sheet G of '1637' and sheet F of 1661. This is much the clearest case of a false date I have come across among non-Shakespearian quartos.

'Loves Mistresse: or The Queenes Masque . . . The second Impression, corrected by the Author, Thomas Heywood . . . London, Printed by Iohn Raworth, for Iohn Crouch, 1640.' Another edition: 'Mistress.' (Both in B.M. and Bodl.) The former has the collation A-I⁴, the latter A-G⁴. This is clearly the later; it converts whole speeches into prose, and crowds up the last page in small type to get it into the reduced number of sheets. From its general appearance I should imagine it to be at least ten years younger.

'The Scornfull Ladie. A Comedie. As it was Acted (with great applause) by the late Kings Majesties Servants, at the Black Fryers. Written by Francis Beaumont, and John Fletcher, Gentlemen. The sixt Edition, Corrected and amended.' Printed for Humphrey Mosely, 1651. (B.M.) Another edition; 'The Scornefull Ladie'; also with printer's mark ('In Domino Confido') not in the above (Bodl., Dyce). As I happen to possess a copy of the 'Scornfull' edition I have been able to compare the two. Mine is, I think, undoubtedly a later, though a very close, reprint, probably surreptitious. The play was entered S.R., 19 Mar. 1616, to Miles Partrich, but had long wandered from its original owner.

Besides these cases of plays, there are also a certain number to be found among masques. There is, however, no reason to suspect a fraud. These polite toys must often have had a considerable

vogue at the moment, while their ephemeral nature would remove all temptation to fraudulent reprints at a later date.

Of course, there may be many cases of 'twin' editions which have as yet escaped bibliographical research. Unless copies can be brought side by side it is difficult to differentiate them. Photography, however, and cheap methods of reproduction are placing a powerful instrument in the hands of bibliographers, and we may expect some interesting discoveries. In some cases again it may happen that a genuine edition has wholly disappeared and only a spurious one been left. Or else a surreptitious printer may have placed on his title-page a wholly fictitious date—as in the case of 'Henry V,' 1608. These cases will probably remain beyond detection.

W. W. GREG.

THE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE.

THE Conference of the Library Association held at Brighton in the last week of August was the thirty-first annual meeting, and the tenth since the Association received its Royal Charter.

The acceptance of an invitation to hold the annual meeting at a pleasure resort, at a time of year when tens of thousands of other visitors are there, is a new experiment, though it was tried under other conditions a few years ago when the Association went to Buxton for its conference. The result has been a success, so far as numbers go, beyond all precedent, for over 400 were entered as attending, but the attractions of Brighton and its surroundings proved too strong for a good percentage, and the conference room saw little or nothing of them. It says a great deal for the hotels and other places that these 400 people readily found quarters on terms which were quite moderate. Nor did the absence of those who preferred the sea-front and other attractions, in any way militate against the success of the proceedings, for this year's conference will stand out as quite one of the most useful working meetings.

The selection of Mr. Charles Thomas-Stanford as President was very happy. Not only is he closely

associated with Brighton, where he has a residence, but he possesses gifts of refined scholarship, and is an ardent book collector, his special quest being fine copies of early printed books. It is worth mentioning, too, that Mr. Thomas-Stanford, like so many other owners of rare books, willingly allows others to share in the pleasure and instruction to be derived from his treasures. At the present time a collection of bindings selected to show the progress of the art, comprising about 120 examples, is on exhibition in the Brighton Art Gallery, and a well arranged and annotated catalogue, with some illustrations, and an introduction by Mr. Thomas-Stanford, is sold for the modest sum of twopence. With this catalogue, and the excellent examples in the cases, it is possible to obtain a really valuable knowledge of the history of bookbinding. This is a supplementary exhibition to one held a year ago of books printed between 1462 and 1501, of which a similar catalogue was issued. I may add that the usefulness of both these exhibitions has been greatly increased by the arrangements made for conducting parties of visitors over them, with informal explanations.

The fine buildings of the Public Libraries, Museums, and Art Galleries, and of the contiguous Royal Pavilion, offer unequalled facilities for holding conferences and the entertainments usually associated with such gatherings, and the generous manner in which these buildings were placed at the service of the Association by the Corporation added much to the comfort and convenience of the members. The authorities of Brighton deserve warm

thanks for the liberal way in which they supported the efforts of the Local Reception Committee, and its Hon. Sec., Mr. H. D. Roberts, Director of the Brighton Libraries, etc., whose abilities as an organiser received general recognition.

The official welcome by the Mayor (Alderman J. P. Slingsby Roberts) was given in felicitous terms on the Monday evening at the reception in the Art Galleries. This left the first morning session free for the immediate business of the conference, commencing with the address of the President. Mr. Thomas-Stanford devoted the major part of his address to the book-less state of the rural districts in Great Britain, a condition due to the fact that the Libraries Acts now on the statute book were framed more especially to meet the needs of Urban areas. It is true a Parish Council may put the existing Acts into operation, but the product of the penny rate in thousands of rural parishes is so small as to be useless. Much has been done in a few cases by the aid of local gentry, by Sir Edmund Verney and his family at Middle Claydon for example. But, as the President very truly said, 'such projects, admirable under existing circumstances as they are, can, I fear, only be rather a palliative than a cure of the booklessness of the country which we deplore and seek to remedy. They are too dependant on the accident of an unusually benevolent bishop, or an uncommonly large-minded landowner. No permanent and widespread remedy can be found, as I believe, but in a comprehensive scheme worked through the County Councils. We have already taken the control of education from the

village school boards, and constituted the County Councils the education authority. It is their business to look after the training of the young; it should be their business also to provide those same children that they have educated with the means of using and developing that education in after life.'

All that is excellently said. It is to be regretted that the President's address was not made the text for a debate upon the question. As it happened, the subject was left over for the last day, when two papers dealing with interesting experiments in the way of circulating books in the rural districts were read, but as these treated of details, and left the larger question alone, a valuable opportunity was lost.

The President also touched upon the importance of the collection of local literature in the libraries. 'Nothing of local interest should be considered too trifling to preserve. The rubbish of one generation is the treasure of the next, and what is passing almost unheeded before our eyes to-day will be matter for history to-morrow.' The Horn Books, once so common, now so rare, and local ballad literature, often of historical and philological value, are illustrations of the truth of Mr. Thomas-Stanford's remarks. It is to be feared that not all public libraries preserve the newspapers of their district, a want of foresight for which they will surely be one day called to account.

A paper on the Brighton Public Library, Museum, and Fine Arts Galleries, by Mr. Roberts, the Director, was taken as read, and copies will

in due course be printed for circulation,—a full synopsis of it was published in the local press.

The subject of Fiction in the Public Library has long been a standing dish at these conferences, and both the members and, so it is asserted in some quarters, the press, are heartily sick of the subject. I have my doubts about the press, doubts based on the eagerness with which a number of newspapers seized upon the topic for comment, and incidentally for having a fling at the public libraries. The truth is that the reading of fiction is one of the features of the age in which we live, and therefore a topic of perennial interest. Many editors, recognising this, wrote leaders discussing the matter in a reasonable and proper spirit, and it is to be regretted that others with less insight looked upon the occasion as one for cheap sneers.

Mr. A. O. Jennings, Chairman of the Brighton Library Sub-Committee, introduced the subject in a well-thought-out paper, designed to produce a discussion on the attitude to be adopted by the Public Libraries in purchasing and circulating works of fiction. It would have narrowed the subsequent discussion down to the main points of the paper if Mr. Jennings had omitted all reference to statistics, but this he did not realise in time. Still the debate, on the whole, was kept fairly well to the points raised, and the three proposals formulated were adopted, the first two unanimously, and the third with only one dissentient. These conclusions form a valuable basis for combined action in dealing with this difficult point in library practice, and will be

circulated to library authorities. They are as follows:—

1. That the function of a Public Lending Library is to provide good literature for circulation among its readers, and that the same test must be applied to its works of fiction as to the books in its other departments; they must have literary or educational value.
2. That every Public Lending Library should be amply supplied with fiction that has attained the position of classical literature, such as the works of Scott, Dickens, Thackeray, George Eliot; and among more modern writers Stevenson, Kipling, Meredith, and Hardy. These names are, of course, merely given by way of illustration, and each library must be allowed to make its own rules as to admission into the charmed circle, provided that it can satisfy its conscience that the suggested test has been applied.
3. That the purchase of mere ephemeral fiction of no literary value, even if without offence, is not within the proper province of a Public Lending Library.

The adoption of these resolutions as a definite basis for future guidance, is a practical step, and if they are acted upon by those who have the difficult task of selecting novels for the public to read, there can be little room for that carping criticism so freely poured out on the libraries. I believe that in a very large degree the spirit of the resolutions is already followed, and that it is rarely the case that the libraries knowingly buy trashy fiction. In the course of the discussion I ventured to say, as I have

said before in the pages of 'THE LIBRARY,' that there are many degrees of the human mind, and this factor must be taken into account in selecting reading for the public. What is immoral and vicious should be avoided, those who desire to read works of that class should buy or hire them; but an analogy may be drawn from music when considering literary value. Not every one can appreciate a sonata of Beethoven or the music of Wagner; it would be absurd to deny such persons the pleasure and profit they derive from other forms of music.

At the afternoon session Mr. W. W. Topley, a member of the Croydon Libraries Committee, reported upon the present position of the net books question. The publishers were quite willing to meet the public libraries in a reasonable spirit in the matter of some discount off net books, provided the booksellers agreed, but the latter had refused by a large majority to enter into the question. It was hinted that the booksellers who have experience of library orders were willing to concede reasonable terms, but that they were a minority, and outvoted by the booksellers who do not know what such orders mean. The position is one of great delicacy, and no discussion was allowed. Things cannot be allowed to go on as they tend to do at the present time. The libraries may wisely spend as much money as possible in building up their collections of important books which can be bought in the second-hand market, purchasing only essential books new. It would be good for the libraries, and salutary for those who will miss

the thousands of pounds a year diverted into other pockets.

Two lantern lectures were given during the Conference. The first, a continuation of Mr. Cyril Davenport's valuable series on decorative bookbindings, was for members only, the subject being English Embroidered Bookbindings. The lecture was listened to with eager interest, and was delivered with the ease which comes from complete mastery of a subject. The lantern slides were of great beauty, made and coloured by Mr. Davenport himself. The other lecture was given in the evening to an audience mainly of local people, by Mr. Stanley Jast, Hon. Secretary of the Association, the subject being Public Library work. All the varied activities of the public libraries in Great Britain were passed in review, illustrated with an excellent series of lantern slides. The review of each point was necessarily brief, yet so carefully was the lecture prepared, and so lucidly delivered, that the audience obtained a good idea of the aims of the libraries and their administrators.

The Libraries Acts are adopted by 580 places, and 527 places have libraries in operation, the number of buildings, including branches, being 906. The number of books in these libraries is 12,000,000 (4,000,000 reference, 8,000,000 lending), the number of registered borrowers entitled to take books home, 2,500,000. The estimated use for one year is 175,000,000, made up of reference libraries 20,000,000, lending libraries 60,000,000, and reading-rooms 95,000,000. These figures are only approximate, but they are near enough to

give some idea of the vast amount of work done. A lecture to the public should certainly be a feature of all future conferences.

A paper by Alderman Plummer, Chairman of the Manchester Libraries Committee, gave personal impressions of American Libraries, formed during the recent visit of a deputation whose object was to acquire information in view of the intended new buildings for the Manchester Reference Library. The paper bristled with good points, and was written in that charming style which makes Alderman Plummer's many friends regret that he is so seldom heard at the conferences. The three main ideas prevailing in America, he said, are space, achievement, and the boundless possibilities of the future. He referred to the co-operation between the schools and the public libraries of New York in their endeavours to make useful citizens of the dregs of Europe, a process usually accomplished in a generation. The library development of recent years, its wider range, its more splendid activities, are the work of Mr. Carnegie.

Alderman Plummer brought out one very important difference between English and American libraries. The governing bodies of American libraries are entirely distinct from the municipalities, and they have a freedom and directness of action which counts heavily in their success. In this country, on the other hand, the tendency is to bring the libraries more and more under the direct control of the municipalities, to check and curtail the committees.

The prominence given to children's libraries in

America was dealt with, and the value of literature as a preserver of language was touched upon. In New York especially, and in many other places, the mixture of races makes it highly important if the English language is to be kept from degradation into a mere jargon, that young children should be taught to read good literature, for literature is not only the source but the sustenance of a language.

The discussion on Alderman Plummer's paper produced some supplementary notes by Mr. Sutton, Librarian of Manchester, and a racy, short speech from Dr. Koch, Librarian of Michigan University, who said that the libraries of the universities were largely managed by a faculty, and the librarian was mainly a clerk. The college libraries were, as a rule, full of books good to look at, but dull as daily reading. He had tried to introduce some of the progressive spirit of the public libraries into Michigan University, which has a library of 250,000 volumes. He spoke also of the system of state supervision of small libraries adopted in Wisconsin, Iowa, and Michigan. It was not interference, but help. By warning the libraries against books vended by book sharks, by helping to make up sets of periodicals and other books from the state store library, a central depôt for gifts to be distributed where most needed, in these and other ways state supervision was very helpful. The State Commission on Libraries also advised, with the help of a consulting architect, on buildings for small libraries.

Dr. Baker, Librarian of Woolwich, dealt in an able paper with the recent developments of co-

operation amongst libraries. Something has already been achieved. The annual publication, 'The Best Books,' in which the best books of the year on every subject are selected and in some cases annotated by a number of experts, is now a standard annual publication. But co-operative catalogue work, co-operative book-buying for libraries, the co-ordination of the work of groups of libraries near together, and many other desirable objects are still only in the air. The wastefulness of duplicating costly books in libraries near together is a striking example of the importance of the subject. If half a dozen libraries only could agree to exchange such books as required, the combined purchasing power would immensely increase the range of books available; while the telephone overcomes many difficulties. Such an experiment might well be made with valuable results. Full co-operation between library authorities may be a long way off, but co-operation on some points ought to be very near.

The interior decoration of libraries was advocated by Mr. Wilfrid Walter and Mr. C. H. Grinling, of Woolwich, in a paper full of lofty enthusiasm, which many of us fully sympathised with, but, alas, pence are few. It transpired, however, that the authors of the paper have undertaken to decorate the walls of one of the Woolwich libraries without drawing upon the library funds.

The Reports of the several Committees on Education, Legislation, Publications, Book Production, and Catalogue Rules were brief, and except the last, did not indicate great progress. The catalogue rules agreed on between America and this

country are in print, and will shortly be ready for circulation. The Business Meeting was more or less formal, except on one point, the old vexed question of the inability of the country members of the Council to take part in transacting the business of the Association. This is a domestic question of considerable difficulty, and common to most societies.

A Special Committee on Registration reported in favour of a scheme for a register of qualified librarians in connection with the Association, but the scheme put forward was strongly opposed by some members of the Library Assistants' Association, who were present by invitation to discuss the question. The suggestion for a register emanated, I believe, from the junior Association, and although the proposals of the Committee were carried by an overwhelming majority—94 to 14—it was clear that the whole matter requires to be very fully considered before any useful result can be achieved. At present it looks very much as if the tail wants to wag the dog.

J.B.

THE CASKET SONNETS.

EVER since their first publication in 1569 the text of these sonnets has been printed in an imperfect form, two lines being omitted—viz. Sonnet III., l. 13, and VIII., l. 6. The English translation of Buchanan shows that he had a complete text before him, and it is not difficult to see how the lines were omitted in copying. The Lennox MS. in Cambridge gives for these lines 'Et toutes fois mon cœur vous doutez ma constance' and 'Pour luy ie vieux faire teste au malheur.' In view of its close correspondence elsewhere with the Buchanan text of 1572 it seems probable that the Lennox MS. is copied from it, these lines being a conjectural retranslation. In that case, the evidence of the MS. against the letters is greatly weakened.

The copy now printed from the Harleian MS. 787, f. 44 was evidently taken from the originals submitted to the English Commissioners by Murray. It accompanies some extracts made at the same time from the translation of the Casket Letters. Another Commissioner's extracts are also preserved in the British Museum.

As to the authenticity of the sonnets nothing new can be said. The text here presented agrees very well with such of Mary's occasional verse as we have, and is quite good enough for a Royal lover.

ROBERT STEELE.

The Coppe of a Poeme composed by Mary Qu: of Scotts when she was in love wth Earle Bothwell, & found in a little Trunke of his wth divers other L^{rs} (all written wth her owne hand) at Edenburgh Castle. The Trunke was garnished in divers places of it wth a great F & a Crowne over it &c. In memory of her first Husb^d Francis y^e 2^d.

I.

O Dieux, ayez de moy compassion,
 Et m'enseigniez quelle preuve certain
 Je puis donner qui ne luy semble vain
 De mon Amour et ferme affection,
 Las! n'est il pas ja en possession
 Du corps, du cœur qui ne refuse peine
 Ny deshonneur, en la vie incertaine?
 Offense de Parentz, ne pire affliction?
 Pour luy tous mes Amis j'estime moins que rien,
 Et de mes Ennemis je veux esperer bien.
 J'ay hazardé pour luy et nom et conscience:
 Je veux pour luy au monde renoncer:
 Je veux mourir pour luy avancer.
 Que reste il plus pour prouver ma constance?

II.

Entre ses mains, et en son plein pouvoir,
 Je metz mon filz, mon honneur, et ma vie,
 Mon Pats, mes Subjectz, mon Ame assubjectie
 Et tout à luy, et n'ay autre vouloir
 Pour mon object, que sans le decevoir
 Suivre je veux malgré toute l'enuie
 Qu'issir en peult, Car je n'ay autre envie
 Que de ma foy luy faire appercevoir
 Que pour tempeste ou bonnace qui face
 Jamais ne veux changer demeure ou place.
 Brief, je feray de ma foy telle preuve

Qu'il cognoistra sans fainte ma constance,
 Non par mes pleurs ou feinte obeissancè,
 Comme autres ont fait, mais par divers espreuve.

III.

Dame Jane
 Gourdon,
 the Earl's
 wife.

Elle, pour son honneur, vous doit obeissance
 Moy, vous obeissant, j'en puis recevoir blasme,
 N'estant, à mon regret, comme elle, vostre femme.
 Et si n'aura pourtant en ce point préeminence.
 Pour son profit elle use de constance,
 Car ce n'est peu d'honneur d'estre de voz biens Dame ;
 Et moy, pour vous aymer j'en puis recevoir blasme,
 Et ne luy veux ceder en toute l'observance.
 Elle de vostre mal n'à l'apprehension,
 Moy je n'ay nul repos, tant je crains l'apparence.
 Par l'avis de Parentz, ell' eut vostre accointance,
 Moy malgré tous les miens vous porte affection,
 Neantmoins (mon Cœur) vous doubtez ma constance,
 Et de sa loyauté prenez ferme assurance.

IV.

Par vous (mon Cœur) et par vostre alliance
 Elle a remis sa Maison en honneur,
 Elle a jouy par vous la grandeur
 D'ont tous les siens n'ayent nul assurance :
 De vous (mon bien) elle a eu la constance,
 Et a gaigné pour un temps vostre cœur,
 Par vous elle a eu plaisir et bonheur,
 Et par vous a receu honneur et reverence,
 Et n'a perdu, sinon la jouissance
 D'un fascheux Sot qu'elle aymoît chèrement.
 Je ne la plains d'aymer donc ardamment,
 Celuy qui n'a en sens, ny en vaillance,
 En beauté, en bonté, ny en constance,
 Point de seconde. Je vis en ceste foy.

V.

Quant vous l'amiez, elle usoit de froideur :
Si vous souffriez pour s'amour, passion
Qui vient d'aymer de trop d'affection,
Son dueil monstroït la tristesse de cœur,
N'ayant plaisir de vostre grand ardeur.
En ses habitz monstroït sans fiction
Qu'elle n'avoit pœur qu'imperfection
Peust l'effacer hors de ce loyal cœur.
De vostre Mort je ne vis la pœur
Que meritoit tel Mary et Seigneur.
Somme, de vous elle a eu tout son bien,
Et n'a prisé ny jamais estimé
Un si grand heur, sinon puis qu'il n'est sien,
Et maintenant, dit l'avoir tant aymé.

VI.

Et maintenant, elle commence à voir
Qu'elle estoit bien de mauvais jugement
De n'estimer l'amour d'un tel Amant
Et voudroit bien mon Amy decevoir,
Par ses Escrits tout fardez de sçavoir,
Qui pourtant n'est en son esprit croissant
Ains emprunté de quelque Autheur luissant,
A feint tresbien un Envoy sans l'avoir.
Et toutesfois ses parolez fardez,
Ses pleurs, ses plaincts remplis de fictions
Et ses hautz cris et lamentations
Ont tant gaigné, que par vous sont gardez
Ses Lettres escriptez, auxquelz vous donnez foy,
Et si l'aymez, et croyez plus que moy.

VII.

Vous la croyez (las) trop je l'apperçoy
 Et vous doubtez de ma ferme constance,
 O mon seul bien, et mon seul esperance,
 Et ne vous puis assurer de ma foy.
 Vous m'estimez legier, que le voy,
 Et si n'avez en moy nul assurance,
 Et soupçonnez mon Cœur sans apparence,
 Vous deffiant a trop grand tort de moy.
 Vous ignorez l'amour que je vous porte,
 Vous soupçonnez que autre Amour me transporte,
 Vous estimez mes parolles du vent,
 Vous depeignez de cire mon las cœur,
 Vous me pensez femme sans jugement.
 Et tout cela augmente mon ardeur.

The Duke of
 Norfolk and
 Earl of Lei-
 cester were
 mentioned
 to her at the
 same time.

VIII.

Mon amour croist et plus en plus croistra
 Tant que je vivray, et tiendray à grandheur,
 Tant seulement d'avoir part en ce Cœur,
 Vers qui en fin mon Amour paroistra
 Si tres à clair que jamais n'en doubtera.
 Pour luy je veux rencontrer tout malheur,
 Pour luy je veux rechercher la grandeur,
 Et feray tant que en vray cognoistera,
 Que je n'ay bien, heur, ne contentement,
 Qu'à l'obeyr et servir loyaument.
 Pour luy j'attends toute bonne fortune,
 Pour luy je veux garder santé et vie.
 Pour luy tout vertu de suyvre j'ay envie
 Et sans changer me trouvera tout une.

IX.

Pour luy aussi je jette mainte larme,
Premier quand il se fist de ce corps possesseur,
Duquel alors il n'avoit pas le cœur.
Puis me donne un'autre dure Alarme,
Quand il versa de son sang mainte dragme
Dont de greif il me vint laisser douleur,
Qui m'en pensa oster la vie, et frayeur
De perdre (las) le seul rempar qui m'arme.
Pour luy depuis j'ay mesprisé l'honneur
Ce qui nous peult seul pourvoir de bonheur :
Pour luy j'ay hazardé grandeur et conscience,
Pour luy tous mes parentz j'ay quitté, et amis,
Et tous autres respectz sont à part mis ;
Breif, de vous seul je cerche l'alliance.

X.

De vous (je dis) seul soustein de ma vie,
Tant seulement je cerche m'asseurer
Et si ose de moy tant presumer
De vous gagner malgré toute l'envie.
Car c'est le seul desir de vostre chere Amie,
De vous servir et loyaument aymer,
Et tous malheurs moins que rien estimer,
Et vostre volonté de la mienne suivre.
Vous cognoistrez avecques obeissance,
De mon loyal debvoir n'omettant la science
A quoy j'estudiray pour tousjours vous complaire
Sans aymer rien que vous, soubz la subjection
De qui je veux, sans nulle fiction,
Vivre et mourir ; et à ce j'obtempère.

XI.

Mon Cœur, mon sang, mon ame, et mon Soucy,
Las, vous m'avez promis qu'aurons ce plaisir
De deviser avecquez vous à loysir,
Toute la nuit ou je languis icy
Ayant le cœur d'extreme pœur transy,
Pour voir absent le but de mon desir
Crainte d'oublier un coup me vient à saisir :
Et l'autre fois je crains que rendurci
Soit contre moy vostre amiable cœur
Par quelque dit, d'un meschant rapporteur.
Un autre fois je crains quelque aventure
Qui par chemin detourne mon Amant,
Par un fascheux et nouveau accident ;
Dieu detourne tout' malheureux augure !

XII.

Ne vous voyant selon qu'avez promis,
J'ay mis la main au Papier pour escrire
D'un different que je voulu transcrire,
Je ne sçay pas quel sera vostre advis,
Mais je sçay bien qui mieux aymer sçaura
Vous diriez bien qui plus y gaignera.

THE CERVANTES COLLECTION IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.



IN his death in 1900 Mr. Henry Spencer Ashbee, himself the author of several useful works relating to Cervantes, bequeathed to the British Museum his valuable library, a special feature of which was an extensive Cervantes collection. The incorporation of this strengthened the position of the fine collection already in the Museum, and it is now undoubtedly second only to the two great Spanish collections—those of Señor Bonsoms, in Barcelona, and of the Biblioteca Nacional, in Madrid. The accession of numerous titles to the catalogue, consequent upon the addition of so many volumes to the library, made it necessary to recast and reprint the heading “Cervantes,” and now that this work is completed it is easy to review the extent of the whole collection. For this purpose it will be best to take the works of Cervantes in their order of interest, making use, as a standard of comparison, of the recently completed bibliography of Cervantes by Leopoldo Rius—based upon the library of Señor Bonsoms—though it must be remembered that nothing of recent date will be found mentioned there, while some information as to earlier works has come to light since the bibliography began to be published in 1895.

430 THE CERVANTES COLLECTION

The adoption of a distinctive press-mark for the Ashbee bequest makes it possible for those possessing a copy of the reprinted heading (obtainable at a trifling cost as an excerpt from the General Catalogue) to judge how far the Museum has benefited by the Ashbee contributions; but another of these distinctive press-marks shows that the pride of the collection—the large number of early Spanish editions—is mainly due to the famous Grenville library. It is the Grenville library, for instance, that is chiefly responsible for a particularly brilliant page in the catalogue, that devoted to the early editions of 'Don Quixote' in the original language. All the five editions of Pt. I., published in 1605—the first and second Madrid editions, two Lisbon editions, which in all probability immediately followed them, and the Valencia edition—are represented, and so indeed are all the twelve editions of Pt. I. or Pt. II. published up till the year of Cervantes' death, 1616, and half of them occur in duplicate. It should be added that Rius makes thirteen editions by including an issue of the Valencia edition of 1605 with slight variants, while recently a similar variety of the Lisbon quarto edition of the same year has been unearthed; but the variations are so slight that the absence of these copies can scarcely be regarded as creating a gap.

The first real gap occurs in the year 1617. During that year there appeared a Brussels edition of Pt. I., a Lisbon edition of Pt. II., and an edition of both parts at Barcelona, described by Rius as the first complete edition; for although the two parts are by different printers, the same publisher

is given in each case in the imprint: 'A costa de Raphael Viues mercader de libros.' Of the above the Museum lacks the second part of the Barcelona edition, and it should further be observed that the Museum copy of Pt. I. was published 'A costa de Miguel Gracian.' Of the remaining editions of the seventeenth century three are absent; but this leaves twenty-three editions as compared with twenty-seven mentioned by Rius, a proportion with which few will find fault. Of the eighteenth century editions the Museum possesses twenty-six as against thirty-three mentioned by Rius, and of those published during the 'nineteenth century and after' one hundred and ten, as against the one hundred and fifty-two of Rius, though of course the latter figures include nothing more recent than the year 1890. Mr. Ashbee's collection is responsible for two new entries among the seventeenth century editions, twelve among the eighteenth, and fifty-five among the nineteenth, besides providing duplicate copies under many of the other existing entries. Many of these numerous editions are individually of very slight value; but it may be well to call attention to a few to which some special interest is attached.

The early seventeenth century editions, which are all of extreme value, it is unnecessary to discuss again. From Mr. Ashbee's collection comes a copy of the 1719 Antwerp edition, which belonged to Caroline, wife of George II. It is in an eighteenth century English binding, and has the words 'Caroline Reine,' with a floral decoration, painted on the fore-edge—which was quite an English art.

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Another luxury is the Grenville copy of Pellicer's edition of 1797/8, one of six printed on vellum, supplementing two ordinary copies and one on large paper from Mr. Ashbee's collection. A facsimile of the first edition of Parts I. and II. (Madrid, 1605 and 1615) published in 1871-3 by F. López Fabra, is interesting as claiming to be the 'primera obra reproducida en el mundo por la foto-tipografía.' Three other entries are of particular interest to Englishmen, because of the credit they reflect on this country. First come an ordinary and a large paper copy of the 1738 London edition of J. and R. Tonson—Pope's publishers—the first worthy edition of 'Don Quixote' in any country or language, and containing also the first life of Cervantes, by Gregorio Mayáns y Siscár, written to the order of an Englishman, Lord Carteret. England is also credited with the first annotated edition of 'Don Quixote,' the Rev. John Bowle's edition of 1781, printed partly in London and partly in Salisbury. The Museum possesses two duplicates of this edition, one of them—from Mr. Ashbee's collection—being a working interleaved copy formerly belonging to the late Mr. A. J. Duffield, one of the recent translators of 'Don Quixote,' and containing numerous manuscript notes by him. Again in 1898-9 (a recent date at which to establish a record) there appeared from the London firm of David Nutt the first critical edition, by J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly and J. Ormsby, the former the most successful biographer of Cervantes, and the latter, now dead, the most successful translator of 'Don Quixote' in modern times.

This pleasant habit of record-breaking is still with us when we come to the English translations of 'Don Quixote,' which are naturally well represented, especially since Mr. Ashbee's bequest has filled up several lacunæ, notably in the eighteenth century editions. All the editions of the seventeenth century mentioned by Rius, together with an additional abridgment, are in the Museum. These include, of course, the first translation into any language—Shelton's spirited rendering of 1612-20—with two subsequent editions. Among them, too, is the second English translation of 1687, by Milton's nephew, John Philips, which is represented by a single edition, like the fourth translation of 1711, which is described as 'merrily translated into Hudibrastick verse,' by that prolific writer, 'the London Spy,' Edward Ward. It is gratifying to find that posterity has tried to atone for the publication of these two translations by ever afterwards refraining from reprinting them.

From 1700 a third English translation, the second in popularity, made by the French refugee Motteux, competes with that of Shelton. It meets with less success in the Museum collection than it did at the hands of contemporary readers, for the first edition is represented only by a made-up set from Mr. Ashbee's collection, the first volume out of four being the only one of the first edition. The second and sixth editions are also wanting. On the other hand the most popular translation, that of Jarvis, which finally drove Shelton's off the field, is represented by the first four and numerous subsequent editions—the first edition of 1742 and

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the fourth of 1766 being from Mr. Ashbee's collection. The last of the popular translations, by Smollett the novelist, came late into the field in 1755, but it had a great vogue during the next half century, the Museum possessing eleven editions for that period. Its popularity was waning, however, during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and the Museum has no edition later than 1833, when it was issued with illustrations by George Cruikshank. The more modern translations are all represented by their first editions, besides reprints; so that with the exception of the first edition of Motteux's translation, which exists in an imperfect set, and the first edition of the revision of Shelton's translation by Capt. John Stevens in 1700, all the thirteen English first editions are in the possession of the Museum. The following table will give an idea of the popularity of the different English translations, as revealed by the Museum collection, the completeness of which can also be judged by comparison with the figures of Rius's summary.

| | Shelton's Translation | Motteux's Translation | Jarvis's Translation | Smollett's Translation | Other Translations (including abridg- ments and extracts) | Total | Rius's Summary |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|---|-------|---------------------|
| Seventeenth century . | 4 | — | — | — | 4 | 8 | 7 |
| Eighteenth century . | 4 | 7 | 4 | 11 | 8 | 34 | 45 |
| Of later date . . . | 3 | 10 | 35 | 5 | 38 | 91 | 78 |
| | | | | | | | (till 1890 only) |
| Totals . . . | 11 | 17 | 39 | 16 | 50 | 133 | 130 |

Mr. Ashbee's contribution to the above total comprises, besides duplicate copies of other entries, eight new entries under the eighteenth, and twenty-four under the nineteenth century.

The section devoted to French translations of 'Don Quixote,' in spite of a very large number of editions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries received from Mr. Ashbee, is much less satisfactory. True, it contains the first (1613) and third (1620) editions of the earliest translation of the first part, by César Oudin; but the only other entry of the seventeenth century under this translation is an edition of the complete work dated 1646. Thus there are wanting the second and fourth editions of the first part and the first (1618) and second (1622) editions of the second part translated by F. de Rosset, as well as three other editions of the complete work issued in the seventeenth century. Of Filleau de Saint-Martin's translation, which replaced that of Oudin and Rosset, no earlier copy than the Amsterdam edition of 1692 is in the Museum, so that the first edition of 1678 and three succeeding editions are wanting. From 1692 to 1861, however, there is a long succession of editions, almost all received from Mr. Ashbee. Florian's translation again, first published in 1799, is extremely well represented in sixteen editions, all but three of which are from Mr. Ashbee's collection, while of the miscellaneous translations of the nineteenth century all are represented in their first editions except the abridged versions of Grandmaison y Bruno, René d'Isle, and G. Chesnel. Of the total of eighteen French translations Rius men-

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tions twenty-two editions of the seventeenth century, thirty-seven of the eighteenth, and ninety-nine of the nineteenth century, and of these the Museum possesses respectively eight, twenty-five, and sixty-four, Mr. Ashbee's collection being responsible for the large proportion of two, nineteen, and forty-seven under the different centuries.

German translations are less numerous and are also less well represented in the Museum collection. The first and second (1621 and 1648) editions of the first translation by 'Pahsch Bastel von der Sohle' are wanting, the third edition of 1669 being the only entry of the seventeenth century. An anonymous translation of 1683, and a translation by Bots of 1819, are absent; but the remaining nine translations are all well represented, in spite of the absence of the first editions of three translations, the anonymous one of 1734, that of Ludwig Tieck of 1799, and of Soltau of 1800. Mr. Ashbee has provided twenty-nine editions out of a total of thirty-seven, as against fifty-one mentioned by Rius.

Thanks again to Mr. Ashbee, who contributes ten out of thirteen entries, no omissions occur among the Dutch translations till the year 1746, the date of an unrepresented translation by Weyerman. The first editions of the three Italian translations are included, the first translation by Lorenzo Franciosini being dated 1622 (Pt. I.) and 1625 (Pt. II.). Seven out of a total of eleven entries are derived from Mr. Ashbee's bequest.

The Russian section is the weakest by far of the whole collection. It is true that the first edition

(1769) of the first translation is in the King's Library; but there are only five entries to divide among the remaining nine translations known to exist.

The following is a list of the other languages into which 'Don Quixote' has been translated, wholly or in part, according to the Museum catalogue: Basque, Bohemian, Catalan, Croatian, Danish, Finnish, Modern Greek, Hungarian, Latin, Portuguese, Servian, Swedish, and three eastern languages—Gujarati, Hindustani, and Turkish. The majority of the different editions of these translations are in the Museum collection; but there are no representatives of the Polish and Roumanian translations mentioned by Rius, nor does the recently published Japanese translation (1896) find a place. To conclude the subject of the translations of 'Don Quixote,' the Museum possesses the first translations in twelve out of the twenty cases mentioned by Rius, the defaulters being the Bohemian, German, Hungarian, Japanese, Polish, Roumanian, Servian, and Swedish versions.

According to the usual system of the Museum catalogue, three appendices are added to 'Don Quixote,' containing references to all works in the Museum treating of the novel. These are grouped under three heads: Spurious Continuations, Imitations, etc.; Criticism, and Pictorial Illustrations. Under the first, which contains over fifty references, the chief place must be accorded to Alonso Fernandez de Avellaneda's continuation of the first part, which was published in 1614, before Cervantes had begun his own second part, and to which we

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owe the hurried completion of the genuine conclusion to the novel. A very complete set, beginning with the original Spanish of 1614, is in the Museum. Other entries show various attempts in various languages to versify and to dramatise 'Don Quixote.' Particular interest attaches to the dramatisation by Thomas D'Urfey in 1694, as having been the cause of Jeremy Collier's 'Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage.' A modern dramatisation, written in 1895 by G. E. Morrison, was recently seen on the stage. But 'Don Quixote' does not lend himself to successful dramatisation. Under the heading Criticism are over one hundred and twenty references, some of which tend to make Cervantes a rival of Shakespeare as a universal specialist; for he would appear to be equally and supremely learned in the art of invention, in geography, jurisprudence, practical medicine, military administration, monomania, navigation, philosophy, political reformation, theology, and travelling. Among these entries another English book is interesting, as the first of its kind: E. Gayton's 'Pleasant Notes upon "Don Quixot."' The twenty entries under the heading Pictorial Illustrations represent only separate issues of plates, and give no idea of the extent to which 'Don Quixote' has been illustrated. Almost every illustrator of note has tried his hand; but Don Quixote has proved as elusive to the artist as to the dramatist. And yet it is to be feared that pictorial illustrations form the limit of most people's acquaintance with the immortal novel.

The Exemplary Novels form the next most

important work of Cervantes, both from their intrinsic value and from the fact that they have been freely utilised for dramatic purposes, especially in England and Germany. Here again the Museum collection is very rich in early editions in the original language. During the seventeenth century twenty-one editions were published according to Rius, and of these the Museum possesses fifteen, including the first edition of 1613, and the other five editions published during Cervantes' lifetime. Eleven editions published in the eighteenth, and forty in the nineteenth century complete the collection, twenty-three editions coming from the Ashbee bequest. The English section is, as indeed it should be, very complete, beginning from the first translation of 1640, when six of the novels were 'turned into English by Don Diego Puede-Ser,' a facetious pseudonym which can scarcely be said to conceal that delightful translator, James Mabbe, although subsequent eighteenth century editions attribute the translation to Thomas Shelton, of 'Don Quixote' fame. The total for the nine translations which exist comprises two editions for the seventeenth century, nine for the eighteenth, and seven for the nineteenth century, four new early entries coming from the Ashbee collection. The only important absentee is the selection of 1654, entitled 'Delight in several shapes,' a copy of which was in the Bragge collection, which was destroyed, along with a fine Shakespeare library, in the great fire at the Birmingham Central Free Library in 1879. Turning to the French section we find that even with the aid of eleven new

editions, including three of the seventeenth century, received from Mr. Ashbee, this, as in the case of 'Don Quixote,' is far from being complete. Thus it begins with the second edition (1620-1) of the earliest translation, and there are altogether seven absentees from among the seventeenth century editions. The remaining twelve translations, however, are almost all well represented, and provide sufficient material to enable the student to follow Mr. Foulché-Delbosc's able elucidation of the difficult bibliography of the French translations of the novels. Among the later entries a small volume containing a translation of 'La Ilustre Fregona,' by M. de Villebrune, published at Lausanne in 1793, is said to be unique. The twelve German translations are but poorly represented, there being fewer entries in the Museum catalogue than there are versions, and the earliest being under the year 1753. Of translations into other European languages, the Museum possesses examples of those in Catalan, Danish, Dutch, Italian, Portuguese, and Swedish. Eight entries under an appendix merely hint at the extent to which the novels have been utilised by dramatists of different countries, the later Elizabethan dramatists being prominent among the number.

The remaining works of Cervantes are of less importance, and may be dealt with more briefly. The 'Trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda' is extremely well represented in the early editions, both in the original language and in translations. Published posthumously in 1617, it went through six editions in that year, and all of them are in the Museum.

There is another edition, dated 1617, which endeavours to pass itself off as the first edition; but its real date is towards the end of the century, and the clumsiness of the counterfeit may be judged from the fact that it is printed in double columns, while the original was not. Three editions of the seventeenth century in the original language—Madrid, 1619 and 1625, and Pamplona, 1631—are missing from the Museum collection; but the four translations that have been made are represented by their first editions—French of 1618, English of 1619, Italian of 1626, and German of 1746.

All the seventeenth and eighteenth century editions of the '*Viaje del Parnaso*' which Rius mentions are contained in the Museum collection. There are also translations into French, English, and Dutch, all of the nineteenth century.

The '*Galatea*,' the earliest work of Cervantes, is the only one of which editions were published during the sixteenth century. Of the first edition of 1585 only some half dozen copies are known to exist, none of them being in the Museum, though one is in England, in the Huth library. Other absentees from the Museum collection are the edition of 1590, and two of the five seventeenth century editions. Several editions and translations of the French adaptation of the '*Galatea*' by Florian are in the Museum; but it has only been really translated into one language—English—and that on two occasions. In 1867 appeared an astounding translation by a still more astounding translator, one James Willoughby Gordon Gyll, while recently a translation by H. Oelsner and

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A. B. Welford has been added to the English edition of the complete works now in course of publication.

Among the various collections of Cervantes' works that have been issued, only the edition of the 'Ocho Comedias y ocho Entremeses' of 1615 was published during his lifetime. This finds a place in the Museum along with numerous later editions, as well as translations in French, German, and English. Larger collections of works, which exist in Spanish, English, French, and German, are all of more recent date. The Museum catalogue reveals the fact that though England has so often been a pioneer in the Cervantes cause abroad, no attempt was made up till the present century to issue a complete translation. It was not till 1901 that Messrs. Gowans & Gray, of Glasgow, commenced the publication of 'The Complete Works,' under the editorship of Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, and the title still remains to be justified.

The Museum catalogue closes with an appendix containing references to all books of a general character dealing with Cervantes' life and works. This appendix is divided into four headings: Anniversary Celebrations, Bibliography, Biography and Criticism, and Miscellaneous. The first contains twenty-eight entries, mainly referring to proceedings published on the occasion of celebrations which it is customary to hold yearly in different places on the anniversary of Cervantes' death. London and New York are among the places at which such gatherings have been held. The bibliographical section contains fourteen entries,

and includes the work in three volumes by Leopoldo Rius, and a hand-list of the unfortunate Bragge collection. The seventy-five entries under Biography and Criticism include some two dozen actual lives of Cervantes, a third of them being in English. The last heading contains twenty-five entries.

To provide further crumbs for any one whose appetite for statistics has not yet been satisfied, it may be stated that the total number of entries for works of Cervantes amounts to rather more than eight hundred, including duplicate copies, as compared with three hundred and eighty-seven entries in the recently published volume of the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale, which, however, does not include so many duplicates. The total number of the volumes comprising the Museum Cervantes collection amounts roughly to two thousand five hundred—a very respectable library in itself—and of these rather more than half were received under the Ashbee bequest; though it was of course impossible for so recent a collection to be as good in quality as in quantity.

The English world of letters has borrowed much from Cervantes. It has in great part repaid that debt by the zeal with which it has furthered his interests in this country and elsewhere. The permanent establishment of this magnificent Cervantes collection in a place of such general accessibility forms not the least worthy of a long series of tributes to the genius of the 'Prince of Spanish Wits.'

H. THOMAS.

REVIEWS.

Typenrepertorium der Wiegendrucke. Abt. II. Von Konrad Haebler. Leipzig: Rudolf Haupt.

STUDENTS of incunabula all over the world will have rejoiced when they found that the second instalment of Dr. Haebler's 'Typenrepertorium,' instead of being confined, as was expected, to Italy, gives the measurements of all the types known to have been used during the fifteenth century outside Germany. It is true that we have to wait for Dr. Haebler's valuable notes on the distinctive characteristics of the separate types under each class, but the delay in this case is made welcome by the promise that the characterizations are to be brought into a single series, so that one consultation of the 'Repertorium' will start the student on the track of discovery, instead of a separate type-index having to be consulted for each country. In his brief preface Dr. Haebler offers some interesting notes. He will have none of the advice which the present writer, perhaps among others, was bold enough to offer him, that all his measurements should be expressed in terms of the number of millimetres in twenty lines of type, no matter how large the type may be. It is quite true that in the larger types it is frequently impossible to

find as many as twenty consecutive lines printed together, and that it is in some respects more satisfactory to indicate this by giving the actual measurement of a smaller number of lines, instead of making the multiplication necessary to give the height of twenty. On the other hand, as all type measurements are only approximate, the slight loss of accuracy which may be involved in multiplication seems no great matter. The discovery that type-measurements are more liable to variation than he had originally reckoned (he is certainly right in now stating the limit of variation as more than 1 mm. either way) seems rather to have disheartened Dr. Haebler as to the usefulness of measurements. He is disposed now to set much more store by the statements of the distinctive features of each type already alluded to. For the final identification this is certainly right. Are there not, for instance, two types, one used by Prüss at Strassburg, the other by Drach at Speier, identical in height and in every respect save that one has a broad N and the other a narrow? But for pointing out what types of different printers can stand in any relation to each other, or again with which types of any known printer we are probably confronted in an undescribed book, type-measurements are invaluable, as long as they are used with reasonable caution. As soon as the need for caution is understood notation by type-measurements becomes possible, and one of its advantages over the chronological numeration (Type 1, Type 2, etc.) is sufficiently demonstrated by Dr. Haebler's frequent substitution of new numerations in the case of France, where

M. Claudin's researches, and in the case of Spain where his own, have added so largely to the number of types known to Mr. Proctor, that mere intercalation was not a sufficient remedy. Probably the new numerations will now easily stand the brunt of any fresh discoveries, but the later German and Italian printers, of whom far less is known than of the early ones, will probably remain in a state of confusion for many years, whereas the adoption of notation by measurement admits of the discovery of any number of new types without any need for readjustment. For this reason it may well be that the value of this new instalment of Dr. Haebler's work is greater than he himself seems inclined to admit, and the present writer expects to have reasons to be grateful to him for it nearly every day for a good many years.

Supplement zu Hain und Panzer. Beiträge zur Inkunabelbibliographie. Nummernconcordanz von Panzers lateinischen und deutschen Annalen und Ludwig Hains Repertorium bibliographicum, bearbeitet von Konrad Burger. Leipzig, K. W. Hiersemann.

Herr Konrad Burger is certainly a prince among index-makers. His first index to Hain's 'Repertorium' put fresh life into the study of Incunabula. His second index, issued in connection with Dr. Copinger's Supplement, offers the best conspectus obtainable of the work of each fifteenth-century printer. Now he attacks the subject from another

side, and shows not merely the relations between Hain and Panzer, as his title suggests, but also the relation between each of these pioneers and all the work of our own day. Merely as a kind of ready-reckoner the value of this new 'Concordance' is very great. A few weeks ago an American collector wished to let an English student know what incunabula he had in his library. He wrote down on two sheets of note-paper some four hundred references to Hain and Panzer, and with the help of Herr Burger's 'Concordance' they were translated by a few hours' work into four hundred short titles arranged in the order of Proctor's Index, and with references on each slip to the best sources of information available for each country or town. One mistake was discovered in the process. Hain 12,480 is Proctor 991, not 491, but with this one exception every reference was found correct. Moreover, though this is a good example of one use of the 'Concordance,' it is only the humblest of the uses to which it can be put. The historian of any centre of printing will find it invaluable, and it is also an important contribution to that process of weeding out imaginary or wrongly dated entries from Hain and Panzer which needs to be vigorously pursued unless we are for ever to be haunted by bibliographical ghosts. One very ubiquitous ghost is finally laid in Herr Burger's preface. Despite a warning note in Panzer, not only Hain but also Charles Schmidt in his 'Répertoire bibliographique strassbourgeois' took over from him a whole series of entries of books from the press of Martin Flach of Strassburg spread

over a period of several years before the earliest date in any book of his that can now be traced. These entries are now credited to the manuscript catalogue of the monastery of Lilienfeld and to the imagination of its compiler, P. Chrysostomus Hanthaler, and in Herr Burger's text are marked with the righteously contemptuous comment, 'Aus Lilienfeld! Existiert nicht.' Other books are marked 'editio dubia,' and in the portion devoted to Hain excellent work is done in pointing out where the same book has been entered twice, where portions of a book have been entered as separate works, and where sixteenth-century books have been allowed to assume the airs of incunables. Many of these notes are avowedly reproduced from Proctor's Index and other sources, but the more they are brought together the more useful do they become, and Herr Burger has once again laid bibliographers under a great obligation.

Fifteenth Century Books. An author index. By R. A. Peddie.

While our German friends are thus hard at work our enterprising contemporary, 'The Library World,' has entered the lists with two instalments of an author-index to incunabula, compiled by Mr. Peddie of the St. Bride Foundation. Mr. Peddie's interest in fifteenth-century books has already been shown by his excellent monograph on 'Printing in Brescia in the Fifteenth Century,' which added over 25 per cent. to the number of

Brescia incunabula. The scope of his present work may best be shown by an extract from his introductory note:

The position of the bibliographer wishing to identify a fifteenth-century book is rather difficult. There are many bibliographies, but no general index to them except by printers' names. The index-catalogue presented here-with gives in the shortest possible form, under the author's name or other heading (as a general rule following Hain's usage in this matter), the whole of the editions of the work. Each entry is composed as follows:—Under the author's name is found the title of the book dealt with; then follow the editions commencing with those *n.p.d.*, i.e. without place or date; after these come those undated editions which indicate the place of printing. This name is given in the vernacular form (i.e. Köln, not Colonia; Nürnberg, not Norimb.) and if it is enclosed in brackets [] it is not directly mentioned, but is proved by a printer's name or mark. After these come the dated editions in chronological order. References are given to the bibliographies in which descriptions of the work or references to the existence of copies may be found. References in italics indicate that a facsimile of a page of the work will be found.

Mr. Peddie's entries are neatly arranged and very clearly printed. They give references to a considerable number of books not known to Hain, and to many more of which he knew only at second-hand. In the case of all these the notes of existing descriptions, or of the whereabouts of copies are distinctly valuable. As a preparation for the new edition of Hain which Germany is to give us, the work is admirable, and we hope that the 'Library World' may be rewarded for its enterprise in print-

ing it by so many new subscribers that the size or the instalments may be doubled. At the present rate of eight pages a month, the Index will have to be 'continued in our next' for several years.

George Baxter, Colour Printer; his Life and Work. A Manual for Collectors. By G. T. Courtney Lewis. Sampson Low.

George Baxter was the second son of John Baxter, the inventor of the inking-roller, which superseded the old inking-balls with which in early pictures of printing presses the pressmen are seen pummelling the forme. He worked as a colour-printer on lines similar to those of J. B. Jackson, apparently without being aware of it, and attained extraordinary proficiency. As Mr. Lewis writes:

Baxter's work was essentially minute and painstaking—he coloured every detail: and when we consider that the blocks had to be cut so as to fit exactly the engraved outline, without the deviation of a hair's breadth; that a separate block was necessary for each colour, and for every shade of each colour, so that for some of his prints twenty or more blocks had to be prepared; that each block demanded a separate printing—twenty blocks, twenty printings; and that Baxter's presses were not elaborate machines working with undeviating exactness, but were all hand-presses, as a perusal of the catalogue of his plant sold in 1860 will show, we may then marvel at his wonderful register, and at the many other excellent qualities of his prints.

Baxter's method was ultimately driven out of the market by chromolithography, which in many

respects works on the same lines, only on stone instead of wood. But from 1834 (he produced one print as early as 1829) to 1850 it was increasingly popular, and Baxter was equally the favourite of missionary societies and of royalty. For the former he produced thrilling scenes of missionary adventure, for the latter pictures of the queen's coronation, of the christening of the present king, and other more or less gorgeous ceremonials. His work is as good as the art of the period allowed, technically very good indeed, and it has lately attracted the notice of collectors. The more thrilling missionary scenes are valued at five guineas apiece, coronations and court ceremonials go as high as £25 to £35, ordinary subject-prints may be obtained from two shillings to two or three pounds. Mr. Lewis, though not possessed of a very happy style, has provided an excellent handbook in which collectors of Baxter-prints will find all the information they need.

A.W.P.

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